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# PREFACE.

The present volume of sketches and illustrations of Madras in the Olden Time, is a republication of a series of papers which have already appeared from week to week in the columns of the "Indian Statesman." The compiler has long been anxious to obtain some information respecting the early history of the English settlements on the Coast of Coromandel. Hitherto the century commencing with the first establishment of Fort St. George, and closing with the war between the French and English in which the intriguing of Dupleix was defeated by the genius of Clive, has been emphatically a blank in the history of India. The Government Office was known to be crowded with documents illustrative of the period; but no one appears to have had sufficient leisure to commence the task of historical research. Some two years ago however Mr. Hudleston, the present Sub-Treasurer of the Board of Revenue, made a few extracts from the earliest volumes of the Mad-

ras Records, and read them before the Committee of the Madras Literary Society. The extracts disclosed a state of society so curious and interesting, that all who heard them were anxious that they should be continued; but the pressure of official duties, appears to have compelled Mr. Hudleston to abandon his task just as he had discovered the true value of the mine.

The Compiler of the present work confesses that his curiosity was powerfully excited by the extracts selected by Mr. Hudleston; and shortly afterwards circumstances enabled him to gratify it. In the course of last year he was appointed by the Madras Government to report upon the character and relative value of all the Records in the Government Office, with the view to the destruction of those which should prove on examination to be not worth preserving. In the progress of his task he necessarily became familiar more or less with the whole of the Records; and subsequently by the kind permission of the Madras Government, he was enabled to make use of the earlier Records for historical and antiquarian purposes.

The present volume, though only to be regarded as a first instalment, is in reality complete in itself.

The period over which it extends corresponds almost exactly with the period of Lord Macaulay's history. It opens with the foundation of Fort St. George, just on the eve of the great civil war between Charles the First and his Parliament; and it closes with the blockade of the Fort by Nabob Dawood Khan in the Governorship of Thomas Pitt; an event which took place in 1702, the year in which William the Third was carried to the grave, and Queen Anne ascended the throne of England.

The design of the compiler has been to convey to the reader all the pleasure and interest to be derived from a perusal of the original records, without the painful labour of wading through a mass of commercial detail. Moreover, in order to render the work more generally entertaining, he has freely used all facts in independent histories which served to illustrate or explain any allusions in the Records. Thus the histories of Mill, Elphinstone, Grant Duff, Bruce, Briggs, Dow, and others, have been generally consulted; and indeed no fact has been stated, which does not appear in the Records, or does not have

the sanction of one or other of the established Indian authorities. The reader however will readily perceive that the bulk of the book is taken from the Records; and that other historians have only been consulted for purposes of illustration or explanation.

As regards the pictures of society here represented, the English portion will be found to correspond generally with the old fashioned pictures which appear in the novels of De Foe. Few perhaps in this decorous age will confess to having read not only Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton, but Colonel Jack, Moll Flanders, Roxana, History of the Devil, and others which need not be named. Those however who have revelled in the quaint simplicity of the "True Born Englishman," will find ample evidence in the following pages of the truthfulness of his delineations of English life and character at the close of the seventeenth and opening of the eighteenth century.

In conclusion the writer must acknowledge with thanks the facilities afforded him by the Madras Government in the prosecution of his

task, and the interest which has been displayed in the undertaking. The autographs of six Madras Governors, and of Sir John Goldsborough, Governor General, at the commencement of the volume, were carefully traced from the originals in the Government Office, and transferred to stone by one of the students in Dr. Hunter's School of Arts.

MADRAS,
*23rd February*, 1861.

# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN INDIA. ANTE 1640.

*Page.*

Old Madras—The Portuguese—The Dutch—English Merchant Adventurers in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth—Early Voyages of the English East India Company—Early Settlements—Ancient History of India—Mahommedan History—Mahmoud of Ghazna—Timour the Tartar—The Great Moguls—Jehanjir and the "Light of the Haram"—A Drunken Emperor—Shah Jehan—First establishment of the English at Madraspatanam..... 1

## CHAPTER II.

EARLY YEARS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

Old Traditions—Kingdoms of Chola and Pandya—Wars in the Dekkan between Mussulmans and Hindoos—Conquest of Bijanagur—Rajah of Chandragheri—Grant of Land obtained by Mr. Day—Foundation of Fort St. George—Quarrels with the Dutch for the Spice Islands—Religious Riot at St. Thomé—Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Madras, 1661—Hostilities with the Native Powers—Mr. Foxcroft appointed Governor, 1665—Imprisoned by Sir Edward Winter—A usurping Governor..... 21

## CHAPTER III.

MADRAS IN THE REIGN OF MERRY KING CHARLES—A PICTURE.

*Page.*

Arrival of English Ladies—Scandal—Loves of Protestants and Roman Catholics—Protestant beauties—Business, Prayers, Dinners, Schools, and Council Chamber—Grades of Company's Servants—Homœopathic Salaries—Chaplain and Schoolmaster—Picture of the Old Fort—Convivialities in the Gardens—Black Town and White Town—Immorality a la mode—Letter of the Reverend Patrick Warner exposing the wicked lives, walk, and conversation of the Madrassees,..... ..... 42

---

## CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNORSHIP OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN, 1670—1677.

Court of Aurungzebe at Delhi and Court of Charles II at Whitehall—Mogul Empire—Dependence of Madras on the Mussulman Kingdom of Golconda—French East India Company—French Occupation of St. Thomé—Unfortunate Position of Sir William Langhorn—Surrender of St. Thomé to the Dutch—Trade Monopoly of Cassa Verona—Yearly Rent of 1200 Pagodas paid to King of Golconda for Madraspatanam—Intrigues of Lingapa, Naik of Poonamallee—Suspicions of Corruption—Commission of Major Puckle—Petition of the Oldest Inhabitant—Recal of Sir William Langhorne..... ..... ..... ..... 68

## CHAPTER V.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER, 1677—1681.

*Page.*

First appearance of the Mahrattas—Stories of Sevajee—Gang Robberies—Intrigues—Tiger's Claws—Surprise of Poona—Early career of Mr. Streynsham Master—Cordials and Medicines required by Sevajee—Native Warfare—Court of Judicature and Justices of the Choultry—Private Savage, Corporal Short, and Serjeant Waterhouse—Foundation of St. Mary's Church in the Fort—Stringent Laws against the Marriages of Protestants to Roman Catholics—French Priests and Portuguese Priests—Blockade of Fort St. George by the Naik of Poonamallee—Gallantry of Lieutenant Richardson—Quarrel between Mr. Streynsham Master and the Court of Directors—Strike amongst the Painters—Recal of Mr. Master—Newton's Comet. 93

## CHAPTER VI.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. WILLIAM GYFFORD, 1681—1687.

Commercial Experience of the New Governor—Policy of Josiah Child—Persecution of Mr. Master—New firmaun obtained from the King of Golconda—Wars of the Great Mogul against Bijapore and Golconda—Drinking the health of the D***l—Encroachments of the Sea—Sudden Dismissal of a Member of Council—Imperious style of Child—Interlopers at Tuticorin—Great demand for "Calicoes"—Madras Bank in the Olden Time—Laws against the Exportation of Slaves—Appointment of a Judge Advocate and Establishment of a Court of Admiralty—Levy of a House Tax—Proclamation of King James II.. ..... 124

## CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. WILLIAM GYFFORD, (*continued*) 1681—1687.

*Page.*

Scandalous conduct of Thomas Child and Charles Carr—The Sloop "James" at Ennore—Petition of a Surgeon to be made a Factor—Gopall Pundit in Search of Peiscush—Benevolence to Widows—Mutiny against the House Tax—Sharp orders of Josiah Child—Mutiny of the Portuguese Soldiers—Attempt to Rent St. Thomé—Establishment of a Pedda Naik and Police Peons—Death of Sevajee the Mahratta—Campaign of Aurungzebe in the Dekkan—Overthrow of Bijapore—Death of Sambajee—Transactions between the Government of Fort St. George and Court of Golconda—Defence of Fort St. George against Aurungzebe—Seige of Golconda—Recal of Mr. Gyfford..... 142

---

## CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE, 1687—1692.

Hostilities in Bengal against the Great Mogul—Attempt of the Portuguese to resettle at St. Thomé—Common Dining Room in the Fort—Extraordinary Monsoon—Allotment of Peons to Members of Council—Capture of Golconda—Dangerous Proximity of the Mahrattas—Plunder of Conjeveram—Force raised by Conscription—Death of Mr. Yale's Son—Old Tombs—A Gay Widow—News from Golconda—Hoisting of the Union Jack at Fort St. George—Civilities between the English at Fort St. George and the Dutch at Pulicat—Stories of the Slave Trade..... 173

## CHAPTER IX.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE—(*continued*) 1687—1692.

*Page.*

Political Genius of Josiah Child—Institution of a Mayor and Corporation—Child's Plan—Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, Mayor—Petition of the New Corporation for Funds—Establishment of an Assurance Office—Falsification of Pagodas—Arbitrary Collection of Quit Rents—Child's Remarks on the War against the Great Mogul—Arrival at Fort St. George of the Company's Servants from Bengal—The Mogul's Dewan desires a Present—Trial of Pirates—Invitation to return to Bengal—Seizure of the English Factory at Vizagapatam—Relief of the Poor in Fort St. George..... 194

---

## CHAPTER X.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE, (*continued*) 1687—1692.

Consultations respecting the Mahrattas—First appearance of the Armenians—Contract between the Armenians and the East India Company—Commercial Advantages secured by Coja Panous—Armenian Church—Indulgences to the Armenians in Madras—Election of Aldermen—Glorious Revolution of 1688—Declaration of War against France—Arrival of the Dutch Governor of Pulicat with a Fleet at Fort St. George—Gallant Resistance of the Ship "Herbert" against the French Fleet at Johanna—Preparations at Fort St. George—Action of the English and Dutch against the French Fleet in the Madras Roads..... 217

## CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE,
(*continued*) 1687—1692.

*Page.*

Hot Dispute between Mr. Yale and the Members of Council—Small Fortune of 700,000 Pagodas acquired by Diligent Service and Honest Industry—Quarrel between Mr. Yale and the Mayor's Court—Order for the Introduction of Heads of Castes into the Corporation—Experiments in Gunnery—Proclamation against Free Trade in Bricks—Firmaun obtained from Nabob Zulfikar Khan—Petition to the Vizier Assid Khan—Early Missionary effort of the Court of Directors—Appointment of Sir John Goldsborough as Commissary General—Proposals for the improvement of Madras—Military Reductions—Volunteer Corps—Deposition of Mr. Yale—Population of Madras and Adjacent Villages—Directory of Fort St. George..... 235

---

## CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON,

1692—1698.

Frauds of Mrs. Katherine Nicks and her Defiance of the Judge Advocate—Seige of the Mahrattas in Ginjee by the Army of Aurungzebe—Nabob Alimerdy Khan taken Prisoner by the Mahrattas—Interference of the Armenians—Protracted proceedings at Ginjee—Discussons concerning the Great Pagoda in Black Town and Triplicane—Arrangement of Church Sittings in St. Mary's

*Page.*

—Regulations of the Sea Customs—Mr. Yale in Difficulty—Night Walkers in BlackTown—Hindoo Oaths—Disorderly Conduct in the Admiralty Court—Death of Sir John Goldsborough—Release of Nabob Alimerdy Khan—Visit from a Native Governor—Capture of Pondicherry by the Dutch—Appointment of Padre Don John de Clerici as Chaplain at Cuddalore—His Resignation and Death—Curious Correspondence between the Governor of Fort St. George and the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Thomé—Poisoning of Mr. Wheeler, Member of Council—Appointment of a French Priest to Officiate in the Portuguese Church in Madras—Disturbances in Vepery—Fraud of the Steward of Fort St. George—Perwanna obtained for possession of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane.... 259

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, (*continued*)—1692—1698.

Dr. Blackwall obtains a Firmaun for Fort St. David—Grievances of Passengers against a Ship's Captain in the Olden Time—Preparation of consultation Books—Visit of Suliman Khan—Quarrel between the two Moollahs—Dismissal of Judge Dolben—Petition of Mr. Yale—Insinuation of Poison—Scandal—News from the Mogul's Camp—Rupture between Dawood Khan and Zulfikar Khan—Brahmins not subject to Capital Punishment—The Prodigal Son at Fort St. George—An Idle Apprentice—Contest between the Government of Fort St. George and Bishop of St. Thomé—Irregularities of Lieutenant Seaton—Funeral Sermon for Queen Mary—Protracted Seige of Ginjee—Curious Intrigue of Zulfikar Khan—A Fighting Surgeon—

Page.

Pawns for Quit Rent—Encroachments of the Sea—Seizure of Cattle—Proceedings in the Choultry and Court of Admiralty—Native Agency—French Capuchins refuse to pay Rent..... 283

## CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, (*continued*)—1692—1698.

Relations between Fort St. George and the Nabob Zulfikar Khan—Refusal to lend the Nabob a Lak of Pagodas—Dangerous Commercial Genius of the Havildar of St. Thomé and Pulicat—Beggars in Fort St. George—Constant Intriguing in the Camp of Zulfikar Khan to obtain the Loan of the Lak of Pagodas—General position of the Presidency as regarded the French, Portuguese, and Natives—Contemporary condition of the Portuguese at St. Thomé—The Old Choultry—Distribution of the Portuguese Prayer Books—Quarrel in a Punch House—Trials of Pirates—Armenians engage not to Trade with Interlopers—Zulfikar Khan's Victory over Tanjore—Stoppage of Goods and Provisions by the Junkameer at Vepery—Capture of Cinjee by Zulfikar Khan—Anjengo besieged by the Forces of the Queen of Attinga—Attempt of Selim Khan on Fort St. David—Bowl of Punch with a Pirate Crew—Excitement occasioned by the arrival of an Interloper at St. Thomé—Mr. Thomas Pitt appointed Governor..... 307

## CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT, 1698—1702.

High Character of Mr. Nathaniel Higginson—First acts of Governor Pitt—Perwanna obtained

*Page.*

for Fort St. David from the Nabob Zulfikar Khan —Private Marrige performed by a Roman Catholic Priest—Proclamation of the Peace of Ryswick—Dangerous Soldier—Quarrel between Lieutenant Sinclair and Lieutenant Seaton—Desertion and fight at Triplicane—Jesuits in the East—Danish settlement at Tranquebar beseiged by the King of Tanjore—Assistance afforded by Governor Pitt—Misdemeanour at the General Table—Native Visits to Fort St. George—First Appearance of Dawood Khan—The Old and New East India Companys—Lively letters between Mr. Governor Pitt of the Old Company and Mr. Consul Pitt of the New—Arrival of Sir William Norris at Masulipatam, as Ambassador to the Mogul—Letter of Governor Pitt to the New Ambassador—Desertion of Ensign Salmon and Eleven Soldiers—Present of Brandy and Spirits to Dawood Khan—Letter from a Ship's Captain to the Governor and Council—Proclamation against Gaming—Married and Single Population of Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Vizagapatam, .. ..... ..... 335

## CHAPTER XVI.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT, AND DOINGS OF NABOB DAWOOD KHAN, 1701.

Dawood Khan Nabob of the Carnatic and Ginjee Countries—Character of Governor Pitt. Grandfather of the Earl of Chatham—Value of the Official Records of the Time—Present dispatched by Governor Pitt to Dawood Khan at Arcot—Instructions to the Envoys—Public and Private Presents—Complimentary Letters—Intrigue for a Persian mare—Present refused on the Score of Insufficiency—Rumours that Dawood Khan means Mischief—He reaches St. Thomé—Present again

*Page.*

refused—Plunder of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane—Protest of Governor Pitt—Preparations for Defence—Dawood Khan comes to Terms through the pious Mediation of the Dewan Mahomed Seid—The present received—Dinner given by Governor Pitt to the Nabob and Dewan—The Nabob very drunk—The Buxie—Threatened Visit of the Nabob to the Company's Garden—Gets very Drunk and goes to Sleep in the Portuguese Chapel—Departure of the Nabob from St. Thomé. 358

## CHAPTER XVII.

### BLOCKADE OF FORT ST. GEORGE BY DAWOOD KHAN IN THE GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT, 1702.

Rumours of troubles from the Mogul's Government—Return of the Nabob Dawood Khan to St. Thomé—Preparations for Defence—Refusal of Governor Pitt to send a further Present—Dawood Khan blockades Fort St. George—Order from King Aurungzebe respecting the stoppage of all European trade—Interviews of the Moollah with the Nabob—Correspondence between Governor Pitt and the Nabob—Plunder of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane—Inhabitants desert Madras. Appeals to the French, Dutch, and Danes for succour—Extraordinary demands of the Nabob—Fears of the Bishop of Meliapoor lest Governor Pitt should Bombard St. Thomé—Intelligence reports—Proposed Petitions to Aurungzebe—Presents of Oranges—Preparations to besiege Fort St. David—Letters of Excuse from the Dutch and Danes—Termination of Dispute between the Mogul's Government and the English at Surat—Recommencement of Negociations between Governor Pitt and the Nabob Dawood Khan—Differences arranged at a Consultation Extraordinary—The Seige raised, ..... 381

# HISTORY OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY SETTLEMENT IN INDIA.

Old Madras! What a multitude of associations are called up by the simple words; what curious pictures of the past flash before our eyes. Those who are old themselves will recall the days of their youth; the good old times of Elliot, of Munro, or of Lushington, when Hotels and Clubs were not, but when boundless hospitality, aristocratic exclusiveness, choice scandal, and occasional duels were the order of the day. But our present object would rather be to recall Madras in an age long antecedent to these comparatively tranquil times. We would endeavour to picture Madras as it was some two centuries ago; when Members of Council rode about in bullock bandies, and the guards of the President were armed with bows and arrows, swords and shields; when gentlemen wore large hose, "peasecod bellied" doublets, preposterous breeches, and hats with conical crowns and bunches of feathers; when the ladies, very few in number, wore long waisted stomachers and powerfully starched ruffs; when the Fort was nothing more than a fortified Factory, in which the Factors and Merchants bought and sold, gave their orders, and made their payments, just like

any merchant firms of modern date ; when all took their meals together, attended daily prayers, and lived like a little brotherhood, who were all kept under by a strict discipline, and who, but for the attractions of burnt wine, punch, native beauty, and occasional quarrels, may be said to have lived as sober and God fearing lives in this Presidency, as were led by their brethren in Leadenhall Street or Cheapside. Whether we shall continue our task in future issues, and bring our familiar sketches of Madras down to the days of our grandfathers, will depend very much upon the degree of success which may attend our early efforts. For the present we shall content ourselves with endeavouring to paint a picture of the little Presidency, with all its hopes, joys, and fears, as it was about the time of Charles II. and his immediate successors. In a word, to furnish a few gossipping chapters upon our early Colonial life, during the first century of our settlement in Madras ; a period which is full of interest, but which at present is almost a blank page in the annals of India.

Before however we begin to depict the little world within, we must endeavour to describe the great world without. Our readers need not be alarmed. Our history shall not be very formidable. We shall follow the true Macaulay method of only dwelling on what is interesting, and then striding with the speed of seven leagued boots over all that is dry and dull.

From time immemorial the rich productions of India had been eagerly desired by the civilised world. Her cottons, spices, jewels, and perfumes

had been carried up the Red Sea to the Courts of Solomon, of Ahasuerus, and of the Cæsars ; and during the Middle Ages, many of her choicest productions were conveyed by the Venetian merchants from the ports of Egypt to the Courts of the European kings. But the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a vast revolution in commercial enterprise. Spain had discovered and conquered Mexico and Peru. Portugal had discovered the route round the Cape, and opened the trade with India. For nearly a century, that is from about 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese enjoyed the monopoly of the Indian seas, and possessed rich and extensive settlements on both sides of the Indian peninsula. Indeed, not content with being merchants, they claimed to be kings ; but instead of conciliating the natives, they rendered themselves hated by their haughtiness, their arrogance, their religious intolerance, and their dissolute lives. But still they continued to monopolize the trade, and all merchants from other European countries, and even shipwrecked mariners, were treated with the utmost severity, if not with cruel barbarity.

In Europe the great merchants were the Dutch. In other words they had become the great carriers of Europe, and their country had become the emporium of trade. In a former century they had obtained the products of India from the Italians ; but now the rich traders of Amsterdam, proceeded every year to Lisbon to purchase spices from the Portuguese. In 1580 the Dutch threw off the yoke of Spain and formed themselves into the United

Provinces. That very year the famous Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, either fell or disappeared during an expedition against the Moors. He vanished without leaving any children, and Philip II of Spain obtained the Portuguese crown. Philip was a spiteful man. He thought to punish the Dutch for their revolt, by excluding them from his dominions. This policy proved most suicidal. The Dutch, instead of being good customers, became formidable rivals; instead of purchasing Indian commodities in the Lisbon market, they pushed on bravely to the Indian seas, and soon became ruinous competitors with Philip's Portuguese subjects for the Indian trade. They commenced with caution. They did not attempt to interfere with the Portuguese trade on the coasts of the Indian continent, but they directed their attention to that portion of the Malay Archipelago, which is known by the name of Spice Islands. In 1600 they had already erected a factory at Bantam in Java, and commenced a trade with the large island of Sumatra and the small Spice Islands. Subsequently, the factory in Java, swelled out into the great but unhealthy city of Batavia; which henceforth became the seat of the Dutch Government in the East, and the centre of their trade. Meantime the power of the Portuguese declined. The annexation to Spain proved their ruin. They received no further reinforcements from Europe, and their more enterprising rivals soon began to establish factories on the continent. In 1610 the Dutch erected the fort at Pulicat, about twenty-three miles to the northward

of the place where Madras now stands. In 1660, they took Negapatam from the Portuguese. In 1663, they took Cochin in like manner. Thus they became the great merchant princes of the East, possessing important settlements both on the coast of Coromandel and the coast of Malabar. The seventeenth century was indeed the golden period of Dutch commerce. Without any native produce to export, and without even a piece of timber fit for ship building, the foreign trade of Holland was at this period greater than that of all Europe besides.

Meantime the merchants of London had been equally yearning for a share in the riches of the Indian trade. Throughout the reign of the great Elizabeth, their longing for the gold of Ophir had been stimulated to the highest pitch by the successes of Spain and Portugal. They tried in vain to cut out new routes by the north-west and the north-east, and even attempted to open an overland trade; the successive circumnavigations of the world by Drake and Cavendish still giving additional stimulus to the spirit of enterprise. They next sent some ships round the Cape, but the experiment failed in consequence of disease and shipwreck. But soon all London was ringing with the successes of the Dutch, and the British merchant was almost mad with exasperation. At last in 1599 an association was formed under the title of "Merchant Adventurers." A fund was subscribed, and the subscribers petitioned the Virgin Queen to allow them to fit out three ships, to export bullion, and to be exempted from payment of cus-

toms for six voyages. At that very moment a peace was pending between England and Spain. The Spanish Armada had been utterly destroyed; Cadiz had been taken by Effingham and Essex; but still the English Government was anxious not to imperil the peace, by giving countenance to an expedition, which might be supposed to threaten the Indian possessions of Portugal. In vain the Merchant Adventurers petitioned for an immediate warrant. The Privy Council maintained that a peace with Spain would prove more beneficial to England than even the Indian trade. But the ardour of the Merchent Adventurers could not brook delay. They presented another Memorial in which they enumerated first all the Indian settlements belonging to Spain and Portugal; and secondly, all the kingdoms and islands which were wholly out of their dominions; and they concluded by challenging the Spanish Commissioners to show any just and lawful reasons why Her Majesty, and all other Christian princes and states, should be barred from the Indian seas, and from the dominions of so many free potentates in which neither Spain nor Portugal possessed the shadow of authority. The memorial was referred to the celebrated Sir Foulkes Greville, who returned another long and curious report on the limits of the Portuguese jurisdiction in the East Indies. The royal consent to the project of the Adventurers was then freely granted. The Association entrusted the management of the business to twenty-four Directors; and on the 23rd September 1600, the

first Court of Directors of the East India Association was held at "Founder's Hall."

The geographical information furnished by the Merchant Adventurers and Sir Foulkes Greville, is very interesting. It was derived from various authors,—Portuguese, Spanish, Italians, Dutch, and English,—whose names are now only known to the antiquarian; and it contains a flood of information which shows how rapidly geographical science had progressed in that age of enterprise. Of course most of the marvellous stories of Sir John Mandeville were popularly believed; but still a large amount of faithful description had reached Europe, and every day the torch of truth was carried further and further into the regions of fable. As regards India, much geographical information respecting the coast of Malabar had already been published; and the maids of honour in the Court of Elizabeth, had long been giggling over the stories of a country where the ladies had as many husbands as they pleased; or else were denouncing the cruel law which compelled a beloved wife to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband. Even the Coast of Coromandel was known. The Portuguese had already penetrated to Bengal; whilst a century before the country had been a terra incognita, and the country now called Orissa was believed by many intelligent Englishmen to be peopled by men who had horses heads and fed on human flesh.

We are not reviewing the history of the late Company, and therefore shall content ourselves

with saying, that in 1601 the first fleet set sail, not for the Indian continent, but, like the Dutch, for the Indian Archipelago. At that time the English and Dutch nations were on the best of terms, for Elizabeth had nobly supported the Dutch against Spain. Again the English did not want to come into collision with the Portuguese. Above all the cloves, nutmegs, and mace of the Molucca and Banda isles, the pepper and camphor of Sumatra, and the endless productions of Java, would furnish as valuable a cargo as any which could be carried to Europe. One little incident may be mentioned as strikingly illustrative of the character of the Adventurers that went on the voyage. The Lord Treasurer requested the Directors to employ Sir Edward Michelbourne on the expedition. But it seems that the business qualifications of gentlemen of the court are rarely appreciated by the commercial community; and the dashing gallants of the Elizabethan era, adventurous and brave as they doubtless were, appear to have enjoyed but little favour in the eyes of the trading citizens of London. Accordingly the Directors resolved on consultation, "not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge;" and they requested "that they might be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold uppon by the generalitie, do dryve a greate number of the Adventurers to withdraw their contributions."

We need scarcely say that the early voyages of the East India Company were very successful,

realising from a hundred to two hundred per cent. on the capital expended. For the first few years, the English merchants and factors apparently lived on friendly terms with the Dutch; and this continued so long as the English were satisfied with the goods they could obtain in Sumatra and Java, and refrained from trading at the small Spice Islands, now known as the Moluccas and Bandas. These Islands, as we shall presently see, were regarded by the Dutch as their peculiar property; and they alone produced the finer spices, such as nutmegs, for which fabulous prices could be obtained in the markets at home.

Thus the English established two principal factories; one at Acheen in the Island of Sumatra, and the other at Bantam in the Island of Java. The goods they brought out consisted partly of British staples, such as cloth, lead, and tin; partly of British manufactures, such as cutlery and glass; and partly of foreign merchandize, such as quicksilver and Russian hides. In return they obtained cargoes of raw silk, indigo, pepper, cloves, and mace; articles which, together with even the more precious nutmegs, are now to be found in every cottager's cupboard in Great Britain, but which in the days of the Stuarts and early Georges, fetched prices which would strike terror into the hearts of modern housekeepers. But a great event was at hand, no less than the establishment of an English Factory on the Indian continent. As early as 1608, the Factors in Java reported home that there was a great demand in the Islands for the cloths and

calicoes manufactured on the Indian peninsula. About the same time, as we have already seen, the hearty but enterprising Dutchmen had begun to entertain the same notions. They however directed their attention more to the Coast of Coromandel, whilst the English were more attracted by the Coast of Malabar. As early as 1610 the Dutch began to build a square fort on the Pulicat lake. The English found more difficulty in establishing themselves. The Portuguese were as yet the lords of the continental trade; but whilst they possessed settlements at St. Thomé and other spots on the Coromandel Coast as far as the mouths of the Ganges and Straits of Malacca, yet their chief trade was on the Coast of Malabar. For nearly a century, the town and fort of Goa, about half way down the Malabar side, had been the centre of their commerce and the seat of their power. There they had led a life of intolerance and luxury, of piety and oppression. They also possessed another important settlement at the ancient town of Surat; near the top of the same coast, and about 100 miles northward of Goa. Surat, which is mentioned in the Ramayana, has been famous for its commercial wealth from time immemorial. Swarthy traders from Jerusalem and Siden, from Memphis and Aden, from the Ægean Sea and the Persian Gulf,—had anchored in the river Taptee and crowded the narrow streets of Surat,—had summed themselves in the smiles of Surat beauty, and laid their offerings upon her idol shrines,—when Priam yet reigned in Troy, when Solomon held the sceptre of Judah from his golden throne and

golden footstool, and long ere the stern old Romans had built their rocky nest on the Palatine hill. For countless ages the coasting trade had been carried on over the Erythræan; and now when the adventurous Portuguese had opened the route round the Cape, the "white faces" were bearing away the gold, the pearls, the diamonds, and the ambergris, the silks, the cottons, the fragrant woods, and the brilliant dyes,—just as had been done by the Phœnicians of olden time. The gems which would have sparkled on the necks of Solomon's queens, were now lighting up every court in Europe; the incense which would have been offered on the altar of Jehovah, or on the shrines of Zeus or Apollo, was now being burnt in the censers of Christendom, and stimulating the devotions of every people who acknowledged the authority of the Holy See.

In 1612 the English first obtained a settlement in Surat; but they only succeeded after some desperate conflicts with the Portuguese; just as the Portuguese themselves had fought their way against the Arab merchants, who had previously monopolised the Red Sea trade, and carried Indian goods to Alexandria for the Venetians to bear away to the west. The successes of the English over the Portuguese, excited the admiration, the respect, and even the gratitude of the Native authorities; and an imperial firmaun was actually obtained from the Great Mogul, authorizing the English to establish a factory on payment of a duty on all goods of 3½ per cent.

Thus the "English House," as it was called, was opened at Surat. The native Surat merchants

readily bought our broadcloths, kersies, quicksilver, lead, vermillion, sword blades, knives, and looking glasses; whilst the English Factors obtained calico, cotton yarn, indigo, and drugs. The latter articles were sent home, but the calicoes and cottons were carried to Java, and exchanged with the utmost advantage for pepper and spices. At Surat the object of the English Agent was to extend the trade to the inland markets as well as to the adjoining sea ports. At Java the object was to open a trade with China, Japan, and Siam; and above all to put a foot into the little but precious Spice Islands. In both directions the English had to contend against formidable rivals. In Western India they had to encounter the hostilities and intrigues of the Portuguese. In the Islands they had to encounter the growing animosity of the Dutch. The principles of Free Trade were totally unknown. The object of one and all of the three nations of English, Dutch, and Portuguese, was to obtain and secure a monopoly of the trade in the Indian seas. But the immediate cause of the deadly quarrel between the English and Dutch was the nutmegs!

Having thus fairly landed our countrymen on the shores of India, it will be necessary to glance at the state of Hindustan at the time of our story. From time immemorial India has been a conquered country. Wave after wave of the great Tartar or Turanian races of Central Asia, have poured in from the North, bringing with them noble languages, but rites so utterly barbarous as to be almost beyond belief;—terrible institutions

in which human sacrifices were offered to appease the wrath of ghosts and demons, and in which men and women herded together like cattle. The Brahmins next appeared upon the scene; a people altogether different, and belonging, not to the Tartar, or Turanian race, but to the same great Arian race, as the Greeks, the Romans, and our noble selves. These Brahmins gradually civilised the Tartar inhabitants, divided them into castes, taught them the worship of Vishnoo and Siva, and made themselves the priestly sovereigns of the country. Subsequently the priest was compelled to give way to the soldier,—the Brahmin to the Kshetrya,—and India fell under the dominion of Rajahs. Such was the state of things when the Mussulmans,—Turks and Mongols,—poured in successive eruptions over the valley of the Punjab, and at last established a throne at Delhi.

The history of the Mahommedan Empire in India is about the driest in the world. Even in the hands of a writer like Mountstuart Elphinstone, it is as heavy as lead; and until some historical romancer can be found with sufficient boldness to leave out all the wars, all the geography, and all the proper names, and confine himself to "Arabian Nights"-like stories of love adventures and court scandal, combined with a few operatic plots of murder, suicide, royal peasants, and peasant kings,—the history of Delhi will be a blank to the general reader.

Our narrative therefore shall be very brief. The first Mahommedan conqueror who invaded India was Mahmoud the Ghaznavide. Every one

who has read "Lalla Rookh" knows the story of Mahmoud, who flourished about the time of William the Conqueror :—

"Land of the Sun! what foot invades
Thy Pagods and thy pillar'd shades—
Thy cavern shrines, and Idol stones,
Thy Monarchs and their thousand Thrones!
'Tis He of GAZNA—fierce in wrath
He comes, and INDIA'S diadems
Lie scatter'd in his ruinous path.—
His bloodhounds he adorns with gems,
Torn from the violated necks
Of many a young and lov'd Sultana;
Maidens, within their pure Zenana,
Priests in the very fane he slaughters,
And choaks up with the glittering wrecks
Of golden shrines the sacred waters!"

Mahmoud of Ghazna was thus the tyrant, who slew the youthful patriot, whose last drop of blood the Peri carried to the angel at heaven's gate, but which, alas, proved not to be "the gift that is most dear to heaven," and therefore would not open the crystal gates of Paradise to the wandering Peri. Mahmoud was also, like a true follower of the Prophet, a great destroyer of Idols. He piously plundered the great temple of Somnaut, a feat which has been since immortalized by the proclamation of Lord Ellenborough. The story goes that he found a tremendous idol at Somnaut, which he prepared to break in pieces. The Brahmins vainly offered immense sums for the ransom of their god; he declared that he was a breaker and not a seller of idols. The deity was smashed

forthwith, and an immense store of diamonds and pearls were found concealed in the belly of the idol.

But to our story of India. Successive dynasties reigned first at Ghiznee, and afterwards at Delhi; and gradually extended their conquests over Hindustan and a large part of the Dekkan. The Ghaznavide dynasty was succeeded by an Afghan dynasty; and then followed the Slave kings, the house of Khilji, and the house of Toghlak. The history of their reigns is nothing more than the annals of conquest, of disputed successions, of assassinations, of massacres, and of rebellions and their suppression. It extends over the usual period of four centuries, namely from A. D. 1000 to A. D. 1400; a period which commences with the invasions of Mahmoud, and closes with the still more terrible invasion of Timour the Tartar, and the sack, the conflagration, and massacre at Delhi. During the anarchy which attended this last event, many of the Hindoo powers in Southern India recovered their independence; but subsequently, after a lapse of a century or so, they were again overthrown by Mahommedan adventurers, and their territories formed into Mahommedan kingdoms. Two of these kingdoms are worthy of especial mention from their connection with the subsequent history of Madras; namely, the two great kingdoms of the Dekkan,—Bijapoor and Golconda. Both were established about A. D. 1500; and neither were overthrown until the reign of Aurungzebe, and about half a century after the first foundation of Fort St. George.

But we must now return to Delhi; for notwithstanding the anarchy which prevailed, and the retirement of Timour from India, the descendants of the famous Tartar were destined to hold the sceptre of India, and reign at Delhi under the title of "Great Moguls." The first monarch of this new dynasty was Baber, the son of a great-grandson of Timour; who, after a series of adventures which have stamped him the knight-errant of Asia, obtained the throne of Delhi about 1525. The last of the "Great Moguls" was the miserable wretch, who, after reaching an advanced old age in the enjoyment of the splendid bounty of the great company, treacherously gave his countenance to the great mutiny of 1857, and now expiates his offence in imprisonment at Rangoon.

The reigns of Baber, of Humayoon, and of Akbar, extended over the whole of the sixteenth century. They thus corresponded to the period of Portuguese dominion in India,—to the period of the Reformation,—and to the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The name of Akbar occupies a considerable place in Oriental history; but in the present article we only care to review such portions of Oriental history as will illustrate our own. He died whilst the English and Dutch were just beginning to quarrel over the pepper and nutmegs in Java and the Spice Islands; and he was succeeded in 1605 by his son Jehangir.

Jehangir is celebrated for his passionate attachment to the beautiful Nourmahal, the "Light of the Haram;" and the story of his loves has been

duly sung by that love making Irish bard, Tom Moore:—

" If woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think what a heav'n she must make of
CASHMERE !

So felt the magnificent Son of AKBAR,
When from power and pomp and the trophies of war
He flew to that Valley, forgetting them all
With the light of the HARAM, his young NOURMAHAL.

When free and uncrown'd as the Conqueror rov'd
By the banks of that Lake, with his only belov'd,
He saw, in the wreaths she would playfully snatch
From the hedges, a glory his crown could not match,
And preferr'd in his heart the least ringlet that curl'd
Down her exquisite neck to the throne of the world."

Sir Thomas Roe was sent as an ambassador from James I to the great Jehangir; and presented his Imperial Majesty with some English bulldogs, some famous red wine, and above all with some English pictures. Our story strips off much of the sentiment which attaches to the name of the lover of Nourmahal. Jehangir was much such a hero as our own George IV. He approved mightily of the bulldogs. He drank so much of the red wine, that in the warmth of his heart he vowed that he would make no distinctions between Christians, Moors, and Jews, but that he would love them all; but then alas! it was discovered that his Majesty was crying drunk, and " sighs stole out and tears began to flow." The pictures proved less successful in pleasing his taste. He drew out a painting of a beautiful Venus leading a dark coloured Satyr by the nose; and not being familiar with classical story, he unfortunately supposed it

to be a representation of himself being led by the nose by the beautiful Nourmahal. That unhappy interpretation had well nigh ruined the success of Roe's embassy; but we believe that another beaker of red wine washed away the angry suspicions of the tipsy Mogul. Moreover, the bard of Erin did not tell the whole truth of Nourmahal. Jehangir had put her husband to death in order to marry her; and this was the cause of their early estrangement, and not, as Moore represents it,—

"A something, light as air—a look,
A word unkind or wrongly taken."

Shah Jehan was the son and successor of the sentimental and convivial Jehangir. He constructed the famous peacock's throne, and the splendid mausoleum of white marble decorated with mosaics, known as the Taj Mahal. His reign, which almost exactly corresponded to the reigns of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, is chiefly remarkable for the rebellion of his sons. It terminated in the accession of the crafty Aurungzebe in 1658, the very year that Cromwell died.

Our story of the events which led to the first foundation of Madras is now drawing to a close. The settlement took place in the reign of Shah Jehan. There had been a tremendous quarrel between the Dutch and English about the nutmegs. Attempts were vainly made to arrange matters by a treaty, in which the trade and expenses in Java, and even in Pulicat, were to be alike shared. The Dutch were far the stronger, and the English were like lambs endeavouring to

live in terms of amity with wolves. As early as 1620, the English had been compelled to leave Pulicat, but had managed to effect a settlement at Masulipatam. At last the quarrel reached a climax in the massacre of the English in one of the Spice Island; an event which is still remembered with horror as the "massacre of Amboyna."

For many a generation afterwards the English and Dutch continued to be at deadly enmity in the East; but meantime the English managed to effect a permanent settlement on the Coromandel Coast. In 1625 the English obtained a piece of ground at Armaghaum, about forty miles to the north of Pulicat, and made it a subordinate station to Masulipatam. It was well for them that they did so; for three years afterwards thy were all compelled to retire from Masulipatam to Armaghaum in consequence of the oppressions of the Native Governor. Subsequently some of them returned to Masulipatam, but still the oppressions and embarrassments went on; and it was apparent, both to the Factors out here and to the Court of Directors at home, that if a trade was to be carried on in these seas, some spot must be obtained more favourable to trade, and offering more security to the Company's servants and property. Accordingly Mr. Francis Day, member of the Council at Masulipatam, was dispatched to examine the country in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé.

Mr. Day met with unexpected success. He found that though the surf was heavy and dangerous, yet that the locality was favourably situated

for obtaining coast goods. Moreover he received great encouragement both from the native powers and the Portuguese. The Naick of the district promoted his views to the utmost, and procured for him a grant of land, with permission to build a fort, from the Rajah of Chandragheri; whilst the Portuguese at St. Thomé behaved to him in the most friendly manner, and offered to give him every assistance in forming the new establishment. The territory granted extended five miles along shore and one inland.

Thus was formed the first establishment in Madraspatnam in 1639, in the reign of his Majesty Charles I, and just before the breaking out of the great civil war. In the present number we have confined ourselves to sketching the circumstances which led to our first settlement in Madras; and describing the previous condition of India. In a future issue we hope to resume our story, and furnish our readers with a sketch of the early history and condition of the infant Presidency, and the nature and character of its relations with the native powers.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY YEARS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

At last then we have alighted at old Madras. In our previous issue we carried our readers from London to the Spice Islands, and from the Spice Islands to Surat and Fort Saint George; lingering however upon our way to gossip anent the Great Moguls who reigned at Delhi. But now that we have fairly crossed the surf, we will take the opportunity,—whilst Mr. Day is building up his Fort for the protection of the Agency,—to take a rapid glance at the world around us; and above all, to tell the story of that Rajah of Chandragheri, from whom the grant of territory was originally obtained.

The present generation will not submit to much geographical detail. Otherwise we might descant lovingly on the Tamul country which extended from Comorin to Pulicat; on the Canarese country to the west; on the Telugu country to the north; and on the strange old land of Orissa, or Urya country, still further away. The history however may not be thus scurvily treated*; and

* We are afraid that some of our readers will consider the present article to be rather too historical. But in the first place the sketch of Native history will be found absolutely necessary to enable us to understand the early relations of Madras with the Native powers. Secondly, no Records of any description appear to have been preserved in this Presidency to throw light upon the internal manners and mode of life during the Governments of Sir Edward Winter and Mr. Foxcroft. After the year 1670 we tread upon new ground.

indeed some knowledge of it is absolutely necessary, before we can understand the peculiar position in which the little colony of our countrymen found themselves two hundred years ago.

In times primeval, when the gods danced on alternate legs and gave milk to little pigs,* and when the curses of Brahmins and the prayers of sages were sufficient to overthrow the deities and convulse the spheres,—in those days a large portion of Southern India was occupied by the two old Hindoo kingdoms of Chola and Pandya, whose relative positions may be indicated by the position of their respective capitals. The capital of the Chola kingdom was Conjeveram; the capital of the Pandya kingdom was Madura. Both cities are still celebrated for their magnificent pagodas, in which sculptures and architecture alike exhibit the struggle of the old material religion of the Tartar races, with the more spiritual and philosophic tenets taught by the fair complexioned Brahmin. In olden time the sovereign of Pandya had sent ambassadors to the Court of Augustus Cæsar; whilst the kings of Chola had ruled Tamuls and Telugus as far as the banks of the Godaveri. But when Mr. Day first landed on these shores, these two kingdoms only existed as relics of the past. Their power and dignity had been battered down by the conquering Mussulman. They had shrunk,

* Some of our readers may require to be informed that these are allusions to genuine Tamul legends, and that the circumstances are gravely related as amongst the sacred amusements of the gods!

like withered beauty, almost into nothingness; and their last hour was fast drawing nigh.

The early wars in the Dekkan between Mussulmans and Hindoos, resembled the conflict of an advancing flood against a strong head wind. Sometimes the wave of Mahomedan invasion dashed on to Cape Comorin; sometimes, as its force subsided, the weakened tide was flung back to the Nerbudda river. Early in the fourteenth century,—whilst the Mussulman power at Delhi was torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and the invasion of Timour was already looming in the distance,— the famous old Hindoo family, afterwards known as the Sree Rung Rayeel, established a throne at Bijanagur in the Canarese country. Bijanagur, or "city of victory" was seated on one of the tributaries of the Kistna, and about thirty miles from Bellary. In a few years the new Hindoo kingdom became the most powerful state in Southern India. Its conquests extended over the greater part of Chôla and Pandya, and thus included the country in which Madras now stands; and it was one of its later Kings, named Narsing Rajah, who erected the forts of Chandraghori and Vellore. Whilst this Kingdom of Bijanagur was extending its dominions, a successful revolt against the imperial power at Delhi led to the establishment of an independent Mussulman dynasty in the country now called Hyderabad, known to historians as the Bahminee kings of the Dekkan. For a century and a half, the Hindoo house of Bijanagur, and the Bahminee kings of the Dekkan, were at constant war. About the end of the fifteenth century, and about the time

of the first appearance of the Portuguese on the Coast of Malabar, the power of the Bahminee kings was broken up, and five independent Mussulman monarchies were erected upon the ruins. Terrible wars still continued to desolate the Dekkan; sometimes between the Mussulman kings themselves, and sometimes between the Mussulmans and the Hindoos. At last, in 1564 the Mussulman kings combined to overthrow the Hindoo dynasty at Bijanagur. A great battle took place on the Kistna. The Hindoos were utterly defeated. Their brave old Rajah was taken prisoner and put to death in cold blood; and until very lately his head was still kept as a trophy at Bijapoor.

But notwithstanding this decisive overthrow, the family of the Sree Rung Rayeel was not extinct. The next heir still retained the name of Rajah; and he and his descendants were allowed to retain several districts in jaghire for some generations. The brother of the deceased Rajah removed to the Fort of Chandragheri, about seventy miles south west of Madras; and there seems to have become Rajah of the country, and to have maintained a rule more or less nominal over the Naiks of the surrounding districts, and amongst others over the Naik of Chingleput. It was either this very brother, or else one of his descendants, that gave the grant of land to Mr. Francis Day, with permission to erect the Fort, which, in honour of the guardian Saint of England, was named Fort St. George.

A melancholy incident, illustrative of that anxious desire possessed by every Hindoo, of having his

family name handed down to future ages, is connected with this grant. The old Rajah of Chandragheri, who still retained the name of Sree Rung Rayeel, had expressly stipulated that the new town, which was expected to spring up in the neighbourhood of the Fort, should be called by his name "Sreerungaraja-patanam." But before the grant had been fairly executed, another name had been given to the town, which has continued down to our own time. The Naik of Chingleput had previously intimated that the new settlement would be founded in the name of his own father, Channapa; and the name of "Channa-patanam," or "city of Channapa" having been once applied to the confused assemblage of bamboo huts which sprang up near the Fort, was never afterwards superseded, and still continues to be the name by which Madras is known amongst the Natives. Meantime the poor old Rajah was fast losing his power. The petty Naiks and Poligars refused to pay him any allegiance, and even invited the advance of the Mussulman. At last, in 1646 he fled away to Mysore, and his name seems to have died gradually out of the land.

We must now return to the proceedings of Mr. Day. The grant obtained from the Rajah of Chandragheri was dated 1st March 1639; and the station was considered to be so important by the Agency at Masulipatam, that they directed Mr. Day to begin building the Fort at the Company's expense, without waiting for the orders of the Court of Directors. This proceeding however was not approved at home. The first General

Letter sent by the little Agency at Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, is dated 5th November 1642, and contains many arguments to show that a fort for the protection of the Carnatic trade was as necessary on the Coast of Coromandel as at Surat or Bantam; and that the Dutch had acquired a large share of the Coromandel trade entirely through the fortifications which they had erected at Pulicat. In 1644, the sum expended on the Fort amounted to £2,300; and it was computed that the expenditure of £2000 more, and a garrison of a hundred soldiers, would render the place impregnable. But all this sort of thing was much objected to by the Court of Directors. In 1652 the garrison only consisted of twenty-six soldiers. In 1653 the Agency was raised to the rank of a Presidency, and henceforth maintained a supremacy over the Factories on the Coast of Coromandel and in Bengal. But in 1654 the new Presidency was ordered to reduce its civil establishment to two Factors, and its garrison to ten soldiers only. We know very little of the internal history of the settlement at this early time. No records have been preserved in this Presidency of an earlier date than 1670; and our information concerning Madras at this period, has been obtained from "Bruce's Annals" and other antiquated volumes. The first President whose name is preserved and whose acts are celebrated, was Sir Edward Winter, who was appointed in February, 1661.

The Factory at Fort St. George had now been established more than twenty years. But

the times were bad. Trade had been very bad at home, as well as on the Coast of Coromandel. England had been distracted by the great Civil War, between Charles and his Parliament, and business was almost at a stand still. The Company had also suffered in another way. When king Charles returned from his war against the Scots, he was in such pressing want of money, that he was compelled to resort to the most extraordinary means for obtaining it. Amongst other things he bought from the Company six hundred thousand lbs. of pepper, on credit, at two shillings and a penny per lb. amounting in all to £63,000. For this sum four bonds were given by the farmers of the customs, of which only one appears to have been ultimately paid. The pepper was sold for ready money at one shilling and eight pence per lb.; and thus the king realised a sum of £50,000. During the Civil War, and especially during the reign of the Puritans, no articles would command a sale, excepting those of intrinsic value. Silks and pearls were an abomination in the eyes of Presbyterians and Independents; who for generations had been denouncing the luxuries of the age, with all the energy with which the Hebrew Prophets of old time denounced the chains, the bracelets, the earrings, the nose jewels, and the changeable suits of apparel of the mincing beauties of Palestine.

At Fort Saint George, the Factors had as many difficulties as the Directors at home. The Native wars were frequent and threatening. Sometimes

it was the Mussulmans fighting with the Hindoos, sometimes there were terrible struggles for supremacy between the two great Mahomedan kingdoms of the Dekkan—Bijapoor and Golconda. Madras, after the flight of the Rajah of Chandragheri had become dependent upon the King of Golconda, and had obtained from him a cowle for the fort and town of Chennapatanam. Meantime Aurungzebe had been appointed by his father Shah Jehan to the command of the Mogul army in the Dekkan. Another terrible war ensued, which filled the country with bloodshed up to the very walls of Fort St. George. All this time the Dutch were opposing the English in every possible way. They endeavoured to drive the latter out of the market by selling cheaper and buying dearer than there was any occasion. This however would be considered fair play in these days of free trade. But the Dutch went much farther. The English having obtained possession of one of the precious little Spice Islands, the Dutch sent a number of people every year to cut down the nutmeg trees. The English coasting trade was almost stopped by the Dutch cruisers, who swarmed in the Indian seas, and who were as ready to commit acts of piracy, as to purchase native merchandize. Sad tales might be told of that time. Besides the horrible massacres at Amboyna, in which Englishmen were subjected by the Dutch to tortures rivalling those of the inquisition, stores and houses had been burnt down in Java, and it would almost seem that murders as well as robberies were committed, during that ter-

rible period of commercial rivalry. The Dutch were even said to have committed piracies under the English flag against ships belonging to the native powers, and for which the English Company had themselves to pay a hundred thousand rials of eight. But in 1652, matters became even more threatening. Cromwell declared war against Holland, and the Factors in the Fort were now in imminent peril. They prayed to the Directors to increase their little garrison, and permit them to complete their fortifications; and above all to be allowed to construct a curtain towards the sea. But all to no purpose. The little Agency in Fort St. George thus felt that they were in constant danger, not only from some plundering native chief on land, but from a cannonading from the Dutch on the side facing the sea.

Meantime the English at Fort St. George and the Portuguese at St. Thomé, seem to have lived together on the best of terms; but the Portuguese had not unfrequently embroiled themselves with the natives, in consequence of their improvident zeal to make converts to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1650 the Portuguese nearly endangered the permanency of their establishments at St. Thomé. A Padre had refused to allow a Hindoo religious procession to pass his church, and a terrible uproar was the result. The English at the Fort wisely avoided interfering in the dispute; but they reported the matter to the Court of Directors at home, and expressed the following opinion upon the impracticability of overcoming the religious prejudices of the Natives:—"By this you may

judge of the lyon by his paw, and plainly discerne what small hopes, and how much danger we have of converting these people, that are not lyke the naket and brut Americans, but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitions, that even amongst their owne differing casts, is grounded an irreconciliable hatred, which often produceth very bloodie effects. At the same time there was no lack of religious zeal on the part of the English, as we shall presently see; but still there was a larger amount of religious toleration than we should have expected in that age, and certainly far more than was approved by the Directors at home.

The friendship between the Portuguese and English was probably cemented by their common enmity towards the Dutch. Indeed the Dutch possessed so powerful a force in the Indian seas, that it seemed as though no nation could stand against them. They took Ceylon and excluded the Portuguese from the Island. They blockaded the Portuguese capital of Goa; they blockaded the English settlement at Bantam; and it was fully expected that if Goa fell, the Dutch would blockade the Surat river, and thus put themselves in possession of the whole of the trade on the Coast of Malabar.

In 1654, a treaty was at length concluded between the English and Dutch, known as the treaty of Westminster. Four Commissioners from each nation were appointed to adjust the rival claims for injuries received during the previous forty years. The English Company brought in a little bill of

£2,700,000. But the Dutch company was fully prepared for such a contingency, and brought in a bill of nealry £3,000,000! The award of the Commissioners proved that they considered that most of the transactions upon which the accounts were based were purely mythical, or at any rate that they belonged to a mythical period. It was decided that the Dutch Company should pay to the English Company £85,000; that they should also pay £3,600 to the heirs or executors of the sufferers at Amboyna; and that all past injuries and losses should be buried in oblivion by both parties.

But whilst peaceful relations were thus concluded between the English and Dutch, the infant settlement at Madras continued to suffer from the badness of trade, the interference of interlopers, the appearance of the Mahrattas, and the bloody Civil war between the four sons of Shah Jehan for the throne of the Great Mogul. The two latter events, and their bearings upon the condition of the Colony we shall discuss in a future number. For the present we will simply follow the history of Fort St. George.

We have already noticed the appointment of Sir Edward Winter to the Presidency of Madras in 1661. At home the whole kingdom was mad with joy and excitement at the downfall of the Commonwealth and restoration of Charles II. The reign of the puritans,—of sad coloured gentlemen, and pinched up sombre ladies,—was gone at a bound. Silks and taffetics, brilliant jewels and gay apparel, once more sparkled at Whitehall;

whilst French licentiousness, worse than the most Puritanical tyranny, spread from the Court to all parts of the kingdom, and even to the colonies abroad. But meantime trade revived. Fresh consignments of bullion were dispatched to Fort St. George, and coined into Pagodas in the Fort mint; and whilst part of the money was sent to Java and Sumatra for the purchase of pepper and spices, a large proportion was sent to Bengal for the purchase of silks and muslins to set off the exuberant charms of the gay young ladies of the Court of merry king Charles.

The appointmet of Sir Edward Winter marks a new period in the history of Madras. Hitherto the Factors had been plain business men, trying to keep on good terms with every one, and especially with the Native Powers. Their principal vice appears to have been a strong tendency to trade on their own account, rather than on account of the Company. This itching for private trade Sir Edward Winter was especially called upon to put down by all the means in his power. The Factories in Bengal and on the Coast of Coromandel* were all placed under his immediate superintendence, and were ordered to transmit to him regular accounts of their proceedings. He was empowered to dismiss from the service any of

* A Factory had been established at Balasore in Orissa, by the same Mr. Day who had founded the Factory at Fort St. George. This was in 1642, but another Factory had been previously founded at Piply as early as 1635. The Factories at Masulipatam and Armaghaum have already been noticed.

the Company's servants who should be found to have engaged in private trade, and to send them back to England. Moreover, a warrant under the Privy Seal was obtained from king Charles, authorising the new President to seize and send to England, all other persons not in the Company's service, who had engaged in the private trade of the country, or in navigating the vessels of the country powers.

Sir Edward Winter held the government from 1661 to 1665 by right, and from 1665 to 1668 by usurpation. His name is barely mentioned by the historians of India; and the opinion which the Directors had been first led to adopt, in consequence of the representations made to them by the other members of council at Fort St. George, is also adopted without question by Mill and others, namely, that he was recalled in consequence of his being implicated in private trade. We must confess that we have arrived at a very different opinion. To us Sir Edward Winter appears to have been a brave and loyal subject of his Majesty; who had excited the enmity of his subordinates by his vigorous correction of abuses, and aroused their fears by his manly efforts to teach the Natives that Englishmen were their equals and not their slaves; but who at last fell a victim to a hot headed zeal which we may sincerely deplore, but which we must not too hastily condemn.

The whole story of Sir Edward's administration is so illustrative of the times, as well as intrinsically interesting, that we must tell it at full length.

On his first arrival at Fort St. George, he found that the country trade was still much depressed by the constant wars in the Carnatic. On one occasion the Fort itself seems to have been beseiged, though unsuccessfully, by Neknam Khan, nabob of Golconda, or rather Commander-in-Chief of the army of Abou Hassan, king of Golconda or Hyderabad. Accordingly the new President directed his attention to improving the sea trade with Bengal, and Bantam; and at the same time proposed to retaliate on Native vessels at sea for the depredations committed by the Native powers on land. It was plain indeed that without some such strong measures the trade never could be expected to revive; and it was by such measures alone that the Dutch had been able to keep the Native powers in awe as regarded themselves. Mere remonstrances were utterly useless. Sir Edward Winter had himself represented to a Naik, that goods passing from the up-country towns to Madras were plundered by his followers; and that duties were levied by mere arbitrary will, without any regular scale. The Naik significantly replied that "when the English horns and teeth grew, then he would free them from the duties."

But the little trading body in Fort St. George refused to support the spirited policy of their President. Such open hostilities might indeed have protected the public trade of the Company, but would have sadly interfered with the nice little private speculations, without which the Coast of Coromandel was no more profitable

than Tower Street or the Cheap. Accordingly they thwarted him in every way; until at last he sent home his resignation; in the expectation that his public services would have been so highly valued by the Directors, that they would have requested him to continue in the Government, and at the same time would have increased his powers. But meanwhile the other members of council had contrived to set the Court of Directors against him. They secretly charged him with private trade, and with exciting the hostility of the Native Chiefs. The latter complaint tallied with the recommendations which Sir Edward Winter had already sent home, respecting the necessity of assuming a bold front at sea. Accordingly, the resignation of the Governor was accepted, and Mr George Foxcroft was appointed to reign in his stead.

We have now to record a very curious incident in the early annals of the Presidency; but before doing so it will be necessary to glance at what seems to have been the difference between the character of the old President and the new. Sir Edward Winter appears to have been a loyal Cavalier, in those days when loyalty to Church and King was ranked as the highest virtue under heaven. Nor are we inclined to depreciate the sentiment. The single minded and generous fidelty of the gentlemen of England two centuries ago, were the salvation of the Church, and, but for the utter faithlessness of the reigning sovereign, might have been the salvation of their king. But during the wearisome period which succeeded the

struggle, the high chivalric devotion of the old Cavalier degenerated into a bitter hatred and contempt for the opposite party, and had led to a readiness to draw the sword upon hearing the slightest depreciation of the Lord's anointed. Mr. Foxcroft, on the other hand, was evidently a plain business citizen from Leadenhall Street; and, like most of the commercial community of that day, was probably a sober God fearing man, who may have been a regular attendant at his parish Church, but who would not shut his eyes to the vulgar debaucheries that disgraced the Court of the Second Charles. It might easily have been foreseen that matters would not pass pleasantly between such a trader from the city, and such a cavalier from Whitehall; even supposing that there had been no such subject for secret exasperation as the supercession of the latter in the command.

Mr. Foxcroft arrived at Fort St. George in June 1665. He presented his Commission, and was received by his predecessor with respect; and Sir Edward Winter was allowed to act as second in council, until he should take his departure for England. Three months passed away, when on one memorable day, Sir Edward Winter, assisted by a few others, suddenly made an attack on Mr. Foxcroft and his son, and a Mr. Sambroke; and after a desperate conflict, in which one man was killed and several were wounded, Mr. Foxcroft, his son, and Mr. Sambroke were put into confinement, under an accusation of having uttered seditious and treasonable expres-

sions against His Majesty's Government. Sir Edward Winter then assumed the administration, assisted by one of the Merchants, and the Lieutenant of the troops in garrison; and, in reporting the matter home to the Court of Directors, he explained that he could bring living proofs of the disloyalty of Mr. Foxcroft, on the affidavits of the Chaplain and one of the Factors.

We have not the slightest doubt but that Mr. Foxcroft uttered some imprudent expressions, which Sir Edward Winter, carried away by his hot zeal, interpreted to signify sedition and treason of the blackest dye. But at home suspicions were excited that the accusations were not true. Sir Edward Winter was not content with merely reporting the matter to the Court of Directors, but he actually addressed letters both to the king himself, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury; declaring that loyalty to his most gracious sovereign had been his only motive for arresting and imprisoning his successor in the Presidency of Fort St. George. Moreover, he dispatched the letters direct, without allowing them to pass through the hands of his honourable masters; and without reflecting that such letters were calculated to awaken suspicions at Whitehall, that a spirit of disloyalty prevailed amongst the servants in the Company's Factories in India.

Meantime Mr. Foxcroft applied for assistance to the Agent at the subordinate Factory at Masulipatam, and through him to the President at Surat. Both expressed themselves satisfied that he had been excluded from the Presidency of

Fort St. George on a frivolous pretext; and both remonstrated with the persons who had assisted Sir Edward Winter, and assured them that the matter could only end in the Fort falling into the hands of the Mussulmans, the Dutch, or the Portuguese.

It was only natural that under these circumstances, the fears, as well as the suspicions of the Directors should be powerfully excited. The King was persuaded to interpose his authority; but still a considerable time necessarily elapsed before anything could be done. The year 1666 passed away, and Sir Edward Winter still maintained his authority, and kept Mr. Foxcroft in confinement. It was reported that he intended to deliver up the Fort to the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, and that the latter had prepared a vessel for him to make his escape. But such a report was wholly untrue; or certainly so far untrue that no thought of such disloyalty seems ever to have crossed the mind of Sir Edward Winter. Another year passed away. In 1667 the treaty of Breda was concluded with the Dutch, on the principle of the "Uti Possidetis," which was to take place on the 10th May 1668. Warlike preparations were now made at home for the recovery of the Fort of Saint George. Five ships were consigned to the Fort, equipped for war as well as for trade. The Directors seem to have made up their minds that the place had been delivered up to the Dutch, and sent general orders accordingly. If Madras had been given up before the 10th May, then the Agent at Masulipatam was to apply to the nabob of Golconda to order the place to be restored to the English; if it had

been delivered up after the 10th May, then a protest was to be entered that the Dutch had refused to give it up in accordance with the treaty of Breda. If however Sir Edward Winter still continued in possession of the Fort, one or more of the Company's ships was to stand off in the Roads, and blockade Madras so as to prevent the entrance or departure of any vessels whatever. If the blockade failed, then the Agent at Masulipatam, and the Commanders of the Company's ships were to hold a consultation, and offer five thousand pagodas to the nabob of Golconda for the cession of St. Thomé to the Company. Supposing St. Thomé were thus obtained, they were to land ordnance and military stores, and fortify themselves in it until further instructions should arrive from England. If however all these plans proved ineffectual, and St. Thomé could not be obtained, then Fort St. George was to be abandoned altogether; and the Agent at Masulipatam, in consultation with the Commanders of the ships, was to endeavour to form a new establishment on some other part of the Coromandel Coast, at which goods suited to the Bantam and Europe markets could be obtained.

In addition to these general orders, a commission from the king was directed to the Captains of the ships, empowering them to form the soldiers and seamen into five Companies, and to train them in the use of ordnance and small arms, in order that on arriving at the Coast they might make an attack upon the Fort by sea and land. Secret instructions were also sent to promise an establishment

for those soldiers and seamen who should be active in recovering the place, and a provision for the wives and families of those who might suffer in the action. Pardon and reward was also to be promised to any of the adherents of Sir Edward Winter, who would return to their duty and assist in the recovery of Fort St. George.

Meantime Sir Edward Winter continued in possession of the Fort, fully convinced that by so doing he was manifesting his loyalty towards the king. The Agent at Masulipatam sent him certain propositions founded on the King's commission, but he treated the commission as a forgery intended to seduce him from his duty. At last on the 21st May 1668 two of the Company's ships arrived in the Madras Roads. Mr. Proby and Mr. Locke, members of council, went on board, but were at once detained as prisoners. Mr. Proby was directed to write a letter informing Sir Edward Winter that he had seen the king's Commission and the Company's orders to the Commissioners; and that the Commissioners would come on shore and take possession of the Fort in His Majesty's name. Sir Edward Winter in reply, demanded that Mr. Proby should be first set at liberty, and that personal safety and protection of property should be guaranteed. The Commissioners were only too glad to accede to these terms; and on the 22nd August they took possession of the Fort, and released Mr. Foxcroft from his three years imprisonment, and reinstated him in the Presidency.

Such was the end for the time of this extraordi-

nary proceeding, and the expensive armament which it entailed. Imprudent language on the part of Mr. Foxcroft, and intemperate zeal on the part of Sir Edward Winter, had thus led to a train of circumstances which are not the least interesting in the old annals of Madras. Subsequently the opinion of the Court of Directors as regarded the two men underwent a material change. Sir William Langhorne and six other Commissioners were appointed to investigate the whole of the transaction; and Mr. Foxcroft was to be allowed to continue as Agent for only one year, and then was to be succeeded by Sir William Langhorne. Mr. Foxcroft the younger was sent home; Sir Edward Winter was allowed to remain at Madras to dispose of his property and recover his debts; and the Court expressly ordered that he should be treated with every respect and allowed a passage to England. The inquiry ended in the recall of both Winter and Foxcroft, and the return of both to England about the year 1670.

## CHAPTER III.

### MADRAS IN THE REIGN OF MERRY KING CHARLES—A PICTURE.

Brightly before the imagination rises up the Fort of St. George and the straggling town of Madraspatanam, under the presidency of the Honorable Sir William Langhorne, Baronet, in the middle of the reign of merry king Charles. The same surf is rolling heavily upon the beach, and almost the same naked boatmen are labouring at the oar, amidst the deafening cling-clang of some old Tamul refrain; but only two, or perhaps three old fashioned ships, are lying in the roads, with old fashioned cannon peeping from their decks, and a still stranger old fashioned crew dropping the anchor or taking in the sails. We wil suppose them to be new arrivals from England, and that all is bustle and excitement. The sun is just rising over the bay of Bengal, and flashing its early rays over the dark blue billows. Two or three sedate members of council have just taken their morning draught, according to the fashion of the time, and are being pushed off from the beach. They are arrayed in their best Sunday attire of gay doublets and enormous hose, and are endeavouring to assume courtly airs, which sit but ungainly on those rough and unpolished traders. Beside them is seated the Captain of the little garrison, in his best uniform, somewhat the worse for wear, and stained may be with spots that might have

been blood, but are far some likely to have been the droppings from a flask of red wine. He too is brushed and buckled as if for parade, and carries as swaggering an air as a man may do who is being tossed and rolled about by a stiff Coromandel surf. All seems to betoken the arrival of some extraordinary person or personages, who must be welcomed with unusual pomp to the Factory in Fort St. George.

Such indeed we may assume to be the case on that early morning. Not only had more gold and silver ingots, woollen cloths, looking glasses, cutlery, and various other sorts of home manufactures arrived for the Factory; not only had some reckless recruits and unwieldy fire arms arrived for the Fort; not only had the second part of the works of the learned Dr. Hammond, and the fourth volume of Mr. Pool's famous Synopsis, been sent by the honorable Directors for the use of the Chaplain and of all readers of the ponderous theological literature of that period;—but due advices had been received that certain ladies had been allowed to go out from England to Fort St. George; and such an incident in those days was well calculated to excite the liveliest emotions in the breasts of every unmarried European in the Factory, from the Apprentices who helped to sort the goods, up to the Senior Merchants who sat in the Council and determined what to buy and what to sell.

The relations of the colonists as regards the fair sex, were certainly peculiar in those odd old times. Shut out from the world of Europeans,

and of course shut out from the companionship of their own fair countrywomen, excepting perhaps that of one or two hardy sun-burnt matrons, who had bravely followed their husbands to the Indies; we cannot feel surprised that our predecessors in this burning settlement, should have been often seduced, like the Israelites of old, who yielded their hearts to the women of Moab and Midian. As for the dusky beauties of the country, they seem to have been ever willing to smile on those who courted their charms. In some cases such connections were looked upon as real marriages. When Captain Hawkins carried a letter from James I. to the Great Mogul in 1609, Jehangir, who at that time reigned at Delhi, was anxious to engage his services and keep him in the country, and accordingly offered him a pension and a wife. Hawkins yielded to both temptations. Though an English ambassador he did not scruple to accept a salary; and as the imperial harem contained a large assortment of ladies, he was provided with a maiden bride, who not only took his fancy, but who succeeded in gaining his affections.* Subsequently he retired from court and fairly carried away his wife to Europe, though not without a desperate conflict with her brothers. Stories illustrative of less moral connections crowd the pages of the old travellers, who frequently tell us how, at the courts of native princes, and even at the houses of European Factors, dancers of surpassing loveliness were pressed upon their attention and

* She is said to have been an Armenian Christian.

invariably refused! Such stories may be partly true and partly false; but if we may only believe the tales which such travellers tell of each other rather than of themselves, we can only come to the conclusion that there were more Don Juans than Josephs in those free and easy times.

The early English settlements were peculiarly situated in this respect. The Dutch Company encouraged the matrimonial desires of their servants, and invested husbands and fathers with peculiar privileges; and to this day the effigies of many a rare old Dutch vrow may still be seen in the strange antiquated burying ground at Pulicat. The Portuguese were even more fortunate, for their king had been long in the habit of sending out small cargoes of orphan girls, well born and indifferently well portioned, to become wives to his subjects of India; and a good story is told how a Portuguese ship, with three of these maidens on board, was captured by the Dutch and carried in triumph to Surat, where the young ladies were promptly married to three of the most eminent Dutch merchants in the settlement, to the everlasting despair and desolation of the amorous Portuguese. For a long time, however, scarcely a single English lady was to be found at the English Factories; the thing was altogether discouraged by the Directors, and the result may be easily inferred:—

"The heart, like a tendril, accustomed to cling,
Let it grow where it will, cannot flourish alone,
But will lean to the nearest, and loveliest thing,
It can twine with itself, and make closely its own."

Within the Fort all was outwardly fair enough, and the morals of the Apprentices and Writers were tolerably well seen after, for Sir William Langhorne was somewhat of a martinet in that direction. But still if walls had ears and tongues they might tell strange tales; and there were very many goings on in Black town which we care not to record. In the outstations, such as Masulipatam and Armaghaum, there would seem to have been no restraint whatever. Sometimes, as we have already indicated, connections were formed which were as sacred in the eyes of the parties themselves as the marriage tie could have made them. Sometimes, and there is no denying it, the household of a Factor bore a stronger resemblance to the harem of some Mussulman voluptuary than to the household of a Christian trader.

As for the soldiers of the garrison, they lived much as soldiers might be expected to do. Many of them actually married the women of the country; not indeed the poor heathen girls, but the Native Portuguese women, who were Roman Catholics. Accordingly such marriages were celebrated by the Portuguese padres; and in process of time, marriages, baptisms and buryings were conducted by the same priesthood, and the children were educated in the Roman Catholic religion. Those who are familiar with the history of the seventeenth century, are well aware of the suspicious enmity which was then felt by every Protestant communion towards the Roman Catholic body. The discovery of the gunpowder plot in the reign of James, the terrible "Thirty Years War,"

the knowledge that the mother of Charles II was a Roman Catholic, and that the next heir to the throne was himself a Roman Catholic, had culminated about this time in the pretended discovery of a Popish plot, and the English nation was literally driven mad with the vile perjuries of Oates and Bedloe. It is not therefore surprising that the wrath of good Master Patrick Warner, the chaplain at Fort St. George, should have been powerfully kindled. He wrote a long letter home to the Directors, complaining of the backslidings of the soldiers, the drinking and dicing of Writers and Factors, and the sinful toleration of Sir William Langhorne, who had actually fired a salute in honour of the foundation of a Roman Catholic Church within the walls of White town. We reprint the letter at full length, at the end of the present article. We have corrected the spelling, but have left the reverend gentleman's language untouched. There may be a word or two which modern decorum would prompt us to cut out, but not one which may not be found in the authorised version of the Bible; and therefore we do not see any necessity for adapting the plain speaking of a divine of the seventeenth century, to the tastes of our more polite times.

The honest merchants in Leadenhall Street seem to have been powerfully affected by the letter from their God-fearing Chaplain; and they adopted extraordinary means for preserving the orthodoxy of Fort St. George. They sent out strict orders that if any man was married by a Roman Catholic priest, or allowed his children to

be baptised by a Roman Catholic priest, or did not have his children educated in the Protestant religion, he was to be sent home without delay. Moreover they sent out both to Bombay and Fort St. George, a few Protestant women for the soldiers to marry, and even permitted certain ladies to come out under restrictions, but on something very like matrimonial speculation.

Thus it was that three or four English ladies first arrived in Madras; plain honest women enough, and no doubt tolerably educated for those times, when the Protestant Manual and the Housekeeper's receipt book were the principal subjects of study. Seven or eight months had probably passed away since they had been wished "God speed" by the worthy gentlemen of the Court of Directors, and had fairly set sail down the silver Thames, for the hot country of Indians and idolaters. Poor souls! they must have had strange thoughts as they gazed out from the anchorage, and pondered upon the curious world they were soon to enter. But stranger still they must have felt, when the two members of Council, and the Captain of the garrison, climbed up the sides of the ship and welcomed them to Madraspatanam. But upon this part of the picture we need not dwell, but will simply imagine them to have been carried over the surf with many displays of gallantry, and finally landed in safety upon the beach in front of Fort St. George.

A strange old fort it was even to the English gentlewomen of that time; but it would seem more strange to us; whilst our extensive buildings would

have seemed stranger still to that simple minded generation. There was the Warehouse piled high with goods of all descriptions; some which seemed fresh from Aldersgate Street or the Cheap; others,—silks, muslins, coloured calicoes, and other choice articles,—which had been brought from mysterious towns far inland. Then there was the little Chapel, where every man in the Agency, from the youngest Apprentice up to the Honorable Governor himself, was compelled to attend the daily reading of Morning and Evening Prayers, besides two sermons on Sundays, and something extra on Wednesdays. There was the Refection Room, where all the members of the Agency took their dinners and supper at times which very nearly corresponded to our tiffins and dinners; and where on certain afternoons in the week the younger men were taught some one or other of the languages of the country, being stimulated thereunto by the promise of large rewards for proficiency,—twenty pounds being given for the knowledge of an Indian language, and ten pounds for a knowledge of Persian. There was the School room where all the children of the soldiers, and others were taught to read and cypher, and above all were imbued with the principles of the Protestant religion; and be it told to the credit of the merchants of London in the godless reign of King Charles, that they constantly sent over supplies of Bibles and Catechisms for the use of this school, and directed that "when any shall be able to repeat the Catechisms by heart, you may give to each of them two rupees for their encouragement."

Other rooms there were, adorned with the heavy old fashioned furniture of the time, but still looking mighty bare and plain and rough. Last of all we must mention the Council Chamber, where all the members of council were summoned to attend on every Monday and Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, either by the Secretary himself, or by one of the Writers and Factors under him. It was also the Secretary's duty to enter all their Consultations in the book appointed for that purpose, together with all other occurrences and observations after the manner of a Diary; and to take care that a duplicate copy was fairly written out by the Factors and Writers appointed to that duty, so that one copy might be retained by the Secretary, and the other be sent home to the Directors. And from that day to the present, from the Governorship of the Honorable Sir William Langhorne in 1670 to the Governorship of the Honorable William Morehead in 1860, all these "Consultations" have been preserved in thousands of volumes; and it is from these original Records that we are now writing the history of the Madras Presidency.*

*The editor takes this opportunity of acknowledging the liberality of the Madras Government in granting him access to those volumes of the earlier Records, which may be expected to throw light on the ancient history of this Presidency. The labour of examining the old Records is very like that of a gold digger in Australia. Sometimes days of weary reading will pass away, without obtaining a single fact available for the purposes of history. Sometimes however four or five lines of crabbed writing will prove as valu-

Our readers however may possibly be getting anxious for the welfare of the ladies to whom we introduced them at the commencement of this article. But alas, having brought them prominently forward on their first appearance in Madras, we have but little further to say respecting them; though that little may as well be said at once. There is nothing further about them in the Records, saving that some years afterwards, two of them still remained unmarried, and were living in the Fort on a small allowance granted by the Company. Thus we can only infer that the connubial speculation had failed, as we know that it failed at this very time in the new settlement at Bombay. We shall no doubt have to return to this subject in a future chapter.

But though we are thus compelled, from want of a better acquaintance, to turn our backs upon the ladies, we have much pleasure in introducing our readers to the other members of the society of Fort St. George. The English servants of the Company, exclusive of Apprentices and Soldiers, seem to have only been about twenty-four in number. First of all there was the Honorable Agent and

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able as a nugget, and enrich a whole column. We hope to leave all the dross in happy obscurity, and present our readers with nothing but the gold. Fortunately our labours during the first ten years have been much lightened by the previous labours of a gentleman who wishes to remain unnamed, but who has laboriously collected a number of extracts from the oldest records, which have proved to be of the highest possible value as historical material.

Governor, Sir William Langhorne, who was first member of council, but who only received the modest salary of three hundred pounds a year. Next came the "Book-keeper," who kept all the establishment accounts, such as salaries and contingencies, as well as the general commercial accounts; and who, in virtue of his financial powers, was second member of council, and received a salary of a hundred a year. After him came the "Warehouse-keeper," whose duties are tolerably well indicated by his name, and who occupied the third seat in council, with a salary of seventy a year. The fourth member of council was called the "Customer," and a curious customer he was. He seems to have been the chief buyer of native merchandize, and the receiver of the rents and customs for the Company's town of Madras; and above all he practised in the Choultry as a sort of justice of the peace. For these duties he was paid the magnificent sum of fifty pounds per annum. In all there generally appears to have been five or six members of council, each receiving a salary rarely exceeding a hundred a year, though with occasional gratuities as rewards for good service. One and all however, appear to have engaged more or less in some private trade; from which far better profits were to be reaped than from the gratitude of the Directors. In vain were these proceedings denounced in the strongest terms by the honest gentlemen of Leadenhall Street; private trade continued to be carried on to a considerable extent until a much later period in the history of the Presidency.

Commissioners of inquiry and sentences of dismissal were of no avail. Occasionally a "black sheep" was sent home on the charge; but we are led to believe that, whatever might have been the ostensible accusation, other circumstances must have excited the enmity of his brethren beyond a little private dabbling in the trade.

The members of council were denominated "Merchants" and "Senior Merchants," a rank to which all the servants of the Company might aspire. Sometimes the young men came out as "Writers"; sometimes as "Apprentices" only. Every "Apprentice" seems to have served the customary period of seven years before he was promoted to a higher rank; a rule which was rigidly adhered to in all trades throughout Europe until a very recent period, and which seems to have had its origin in the mystic period during which Jacob served an enthusiastic apprenticeship to Laban, in order to gain the hand of the fair Rachel. During the first five years, the aspiring youths in the Company's service seem to have been allowed five pounds a year for the purchase of clothes. During the last two years of that time, whilst panting for the termination of apprenticeship, they were allowed Writer's salary of ten pounds a year. At the end of that period they were raised to the rank of "Writers," and after one year more, or eight years service in all, they became "Factors;" after which they rose in due time to the rank of "Merchants" and members of Council.

Besides these servants of the Company, there

were others whose duties may be easily inferred from their names. There was the "Chaplain" who had a hundred a year, and who must have had a hard time of it with daily prayers, and Sunday's preaching and expounding. There was the "Schoolmaster," at a salary of fifty pounds a year, who had been sent out to teach all the children of English parents to read, write, cypher, and hate the Roman Catholics. Any parents whatever, —Portuguese, Hindoo, or Mussulman,—might likewise send their children to be similarly taught; but only on the condition that they should also be instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion.

Some of our readers will probably ask how many of these gentlemen were married. In *January 1678-9* it appears that out of the whole twenty-four gentlemen, only six were married, and only five had their wives with them; whilst five unmarried ladies were also dwelling in the Fort, two of whom were our lady friends still unwedded, and the remaining three were widows. Besides the civilians mentioned, there were sixteen other Europeans dwelling either in White Town or in Black Town, and who got a living by keeping houses of entertainment or other similar means. Of these only six were married, namely, two to English women, one to a Dutch woman, one to an English half-caste, and two to Portuguese half-castes.

The military portion of the population was more numerous. The number of European soldiers varied with the times, or with the fears of the Direc-

tors at home. Sometimes, as we have seen, they were reduced to a very small number; but during the reign of Charles II trade was rapidly increasing, and the garrison of Fort St. George increased to two companies of eighty or a hundred men each. In addition to these were a number of native peons, armed with swords and bucklers, bows and arrows, and other primitive weapons of the country.

Our readers will now find but little difficulty in realising the inside of Fort St. George, as it was some two centuries ago. They will hear the gun fired at early morning, and they will see the gradual stir of the inhabitants,—the measured tramp of the European soldier,—the little stately peon with his sword and buckler,—the rush of noisy naked coolies,—the appearance of Apprentices, Writers, Factors, and Merchants in half Hindoo costume,—the assembly for morning prayers in the little chapel, with good Master Patrick Warner officiating in his gown and bands, and indignant at the smallness of his congregation,—the opening of the Factory and jabbering crowd of Native traders,—the grand displays of European goods for sale, and the packing up of Native merchandize for export home,—the little school room and long array of different shades of little boys and girls,—the orderly dinner shortly after noon, where all are assembled at the general table from the Apprentices to the Honorable Governor himself,—the return to the labours of the desk and warehouse, until the joyous hour of closing has arrived, and the jaded Europeans recruit their exhausted spirits with the pleasures of

punch, tobacco, and other pursuits which we need not and cannot name. If it is Sunday, all would be changed; for in old times English Sundays were rigidly observed as little festivals. Then the Europeans, civilians as well as soldiers, dropped their half native attire, and were apparelled in the European fashion of the time. Then for a brief hour or too the Chaplain would be a greater man than the Governor. Then he could denounce vice and popery to his heart's content, and expound the Scriptures by the light of a theological learning, which was almost general in those days when the Church was a living reality, but which is fast passing away now. Then the Church could boast of literary giants, such as Walton, Lightfoot, Selden, Stillingfleet, Beveridge, Pearson, Bull, and a thousand time honoured names. She has few men to boast about now.

Perchance however our readers would like to step out of the Fort, and see a little of the country around. They must not go far, for the Company's dominion only extends about a mile inland, and no man is allowed to go more than three miles from the Fort without permission of the Governor. Possibly however they may merely wish to go and peep into the gardens, where Writers and Factors occasionally assembled to drink down the sun, and sing such jolly ballads as "Ho Cavaliers," "Brandy nosed Noll," "Cherry Ripe," or "Chevy Chase" according to the humour of the times. But even then we should advise them not to go too far. What they are likely to see will not do them much good. They had better stay with us, and look

out upon the country around from the old ramparts of Fort St. George.

We wish we could present an exact picture of that scene to modern eyes. Unfortunately no plan appears to have been preserved of an earlier date than 1737, or more than sixty years after the period we have been describing. But still by comparing this plan with certain topographical notices in the earliest records, we think we may convey a general idea of the Fort and the neighbourhood.

The district which the Company had obtained, first from the Rajah of Chandragheri, and afterwards from Golconda, stretched five miles along the sea, but only one inland. On the south it extended along the road to St. Thomé some little distance beyond the Triplicane river. On the north it extended a similar distance along the road to Trivatore. Inland it was bounded by the river, which still runs parallel with the sea, and which in former times used to run right through the part now occupied by the centre of the present Fort, but was diverted from that course when the Fort was enlarged in the succeeding century. The old Fort being thus bounded by the river on the inland side, was only half the size of the modern Fort, but still it included the European houses known for many generations afterwards as White-town.

Fort St. George and White town were thus synonymous terms. In Europe the quarter was known as Fort St. George; but in India it was called

White town, from its being occupied by Europeans. It extended about 400 yards in length from north to south, and about 100 yards in breadth from the sea to the old channel of the river already mentioned. The fortified Factory which had been constructed in the first instance by Mr. Day, was a very different thing from the Fort which existed in the time of the Honorable Sir William Langhorne. The Fort in the first instance must have somewhat resembled some of those old Forts which were knocked about during the Civil War. The first thing that was required was a population; and accordingly Mr. Day, and the Agents who immediately preceded him, invited the Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese to settle in the neighbourhood; and even lent them money to build upon the open sand under the protection of the Fort guns. Subsequently these foreigners had become naturalized Madrasees. As the fortifications progressed, their houses were walled in, and thus formed a part of White town; whilst they themselves did the duty of trained bands in watching and warding upon the outworks in time of trouble. Of course under these circumstances they neither paid nor were expected to pay any rent or acknowledgment for the land they occupied, and they never took out any leases. But during the Governorship of Sir William Langhorne, the White town was found to be too much crowded; and, many of the married servants of the Company were obliged to take houses in Black town, receiving an allowance for the extra expenses of board and lodging which they thereby incurred. Of

this arrangement the Directors frequently complained, but still such were the existing difficulties in the way of expelling the Portuguese, that no alteration could be made. But even with the addition of the Portuguese, White town for nearly a century afterwards, never contained more than fifty houses, in addition to the Factory and other buildings of the Company. It was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries; but these were slight and defective, and undefended by outworks.

To the north of White town was the much larger quarter which was occupied by the Natives, and which for the sake of distinction was called Black town. Here the houses and population had rapidly increased in numbers; and the streets bore a very different appearance from the collection of bamboo huts which rose up during the earlier days of the colony. In the Choultry Plain to the southward of the Fort, the weavers and painters in the employment of the Factory, appear to have erected a little village for themselves; whilst the fishermen at the mouth of the Triplicane river were living, marrying, and dying,—catching fish, making nets, and celebrating their own peculiar festivals,—just as they had done in the old days of the kings of Chola and Pandya, and in all probability just as they will still be doing some thousand years hence, when Lord Macaulay's New Zealander comes poking about our tombs, and wondering what manner of people we have been. Two or three miles off were the little Native villages of Nungumbaukum, Egmore, Persewaukum,

and Perambore, which were too far off to be often visited by the Europeans of that day.

Such then were the White town and Black town of Madraspatanam in the reign of merry king Charles, when trade was flourishing, and when the nation in general was increasing in wealth, and but for the Gallic tendencies of the Stuarts might have taken a high place amongst the European powers. The period was one in which there was much loyalty, much religion, but much loose living and debauchery. The times were rough, and the distance from Europe, and the absence of such female society as would have polished manners, rendered the little settlement rather tumultuous. Drunkenness, duelling, gaming, and licentiousness were, as we have already indicated, only too common, although the strictest rules were laid down. Sir William Langhorne had issued express orders,—and certainly his views were liberal,—that no one person was to be allowed to drink above half a pint of arrack or brandy and one quart of wine at one time, under a penalty of one pagoda upon the housekeeper that supplied it, and twelve fanams upon every guest that had exceeded that modest allowance. Drunkenness was to be punished by a fine and the stocks. All persons addicted in any way to the social evil were to be imprisoned at the discretion of the Governor, and if not reclaimed were to be sent back to England. All persons telling a lie, or absenting themselves from morning or evening prayers, were to be fined four fanams for each offence. Persons being out of the Fort after eight o'clock, would be punished,

and any one committing the heinous offence of getting over the walls of the Fort upon any pretence whatever, was to be kept in irons until the arrival of the ships, and then to be sent to England to receive further condign punishment on his arrival. It was also ordained that all persons swearing, cursing, banning, or blaspheming the sacred name of Almighty God should pay a fine of four fanams for each offence; that any two persons who should go out into the fields to decide a quarrel between them by the sword or fire arms should be imprisoned for two months on nothing but rice and water; that any soldier giving another the lie should be made fast to a gun, and there receive ten small blows with a rattan, well laid on by the man to whom he had given the lie; and that any Officer who should in any way connive at the offence, or at any mitigation of the punishment, should forfeit a month's wages. But notwithstanding these and other similar rules, public decorum was frequently outraged, as the letter of the Chaplain recorded below abundantly proves. Brawlings were not unfrequent, and were by no means confined to the Barracks, the Punch shops, or the Warehouse, but even were to be occasionally heard in the Council Chamber itself. One little circumstance which took place during the meeting of council on 6th June 1676, is singularly illustrative of the disturbances which occasionally arose. Nathaniel Keeble, buyer of jewels, uttered some provocative words concerning the wife of Mr. Herries, a member of council. Herries was of course pre-

sent, and a fight took place in the Council Chamber. The combatants were soon parted by the Governor and Council; but Keeble had received a bloody nose from the clenched fist of the indignant husband, and swore to be revenged upon him though he were hanged for it. Herries then swore the peace against Keeble, and the Governor ordered the latter to be confined to his chamber until he had furnished security that he would keep the peace for the future. The same day however Keeble broke from his arrest, leaped down the Fort walls, and sprained his leg; and was accordingly ordered to be confined in the "Lock house" until the arrival of the ships, when he could be dispatched to England. The next day however the whole matter was arranged. Nathaniel Keeble sent in his humble submission and promised amendment, and the Government mercifully forgave him. Incidents such as these are sufficient to prove that however strict rules might be laid down, yet the times were as lawless in Fort St. George as they were in Covent Garden or the Strand. That they were not worse is abundantly proved by the character of the literature and condition of the people of England during the reign of the second Charles.

Here then we close our picture of the Fort and Factory of St. George, about the middle of the reign of king Charles. In a future issue we shall return to the history, which we trust will be found of deeper interest, now that we have given to the reader a glimpse of the society in which the events transpired.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

*Letter of the Reverend Patrick Warner, Company's Chaplain at Fort St. George, addressed to the Court of Directors on the 31st January, 1676, bringing to their notice the vicious lives of the Soldiers and some of the Writers in the Fort.*

Right Worshipfuls,

It is my trouble that I have so little acquaintance with your Worships, because of this I could not take the confidence of writing to you, nor had I anything worth the writing, having then remained so short a while in this place; but now having been a servant under you in the ministry of the Gospel some considerable time, I have to my grief met with that which makes me, contrary to my inclination, break of my silence, and give you the trouble of these lines.

I have the charity to believe that most of you have so much zeal for God, and for the credit of religion, that your heads would be fountains of waters, and eyes rivers of tears, did you really know how much God is dishonoured, his name blasphemed, religion reproached amongst the Gentiles, by the vicious lives of many of your servants. Did I not therefore complain of them, I should not be faithful either to God or you, or to their own souls. And if it be not a desire to approve myself in some measure faithful unto all those, God the searcher of hearts and tryer of reins will one day discover, if it be not, I say, such a desire that moves me to the present undertaking.

It may be for a lamentation to hear and see the horrid swearing and profanation of the name of God, the woful and abominable drunkenness and uncleanness that so much reign and rage among the soldiery; and these not secretly or covertly, but as it were in the sight of the sun, and men refuse therein to be

ashamed, neither can they blush. Some, after they have lived a long time in uncleanness, their whores persuade them to marry them, and several such have been married, who within a little time have found them treacherous and adulterous, and thereupon have either run away from them, or carried them along with them and sold them to the Infidels and Moores. Some unmarried persons keep whores in their houses, and some married whose wives are in England do the same. Most of those whores are popish christians; and if those that marry them do not fall into the former inconveniences, they hardly escape being seduced by their wives and wives' families into popery. There have not been wanting instances of this also. Since I entered into this place, I have constantly refused to celebrate any such marriages except one that I was urged into, and this not before she had solemnly and before several witnesses renounced popery, and promised to attend upon ordinances with us; but she had not been many weeks married when at the instigation of some popish priests here she perfidiously fell from those promises.

I wish your Worships may consider it be not requisite to inhibit such marriages, for the children turn either infidels or popish. I do also earnestly wish there may be more inspection taken what persons you send over into these places; for there come hither some thousand murderers, some men stealers, some popish, some come over under the notion of single persons and unmarried, who yet have their wives in England, and here have been married to others, with whom they have lived in adultery; and some on the other hand have come over as married persons, of whom there are strange suspicions they were never married. These and other abuses there are among the soldiery. There are also some of the Writers who by their lives are not a little scandalous to the Christian religion, so sinful in their drunkenness that some of them play at cards and dice for wine that they may drink, and afterwards throwing the

dice which shall pay all, and sometimes who shall drink all, by which some are forced to drink until they be worse than beasts. Others pride themselves in making others drink till they be insensible, and then strip them naked and in that posture (horrosco referens) cause them to be carried through the streets to their dwelling place. Some of them, with other persons whom they invited, once went abroad to a garden not far off, and there continued a whole day and night drinking most excessively, and in so much that one of the number died within a very few days after, and confessed he had contracted his sickness by that excess. A person worthy of credit having occasion to go the next day into the same garden could number by the heads 36 bottles, and the best of his judgment they were all pottles, for it is their frequent custom to break bottles as soon as they have drunk the wine, and this they have done sometimes within the walls of the Fort, and withal sing and carouse at very unseasonable hours. And this their drunkenness is not alone, but in some attended with its ordinary concomitant uncleanness, for some have been found breaking open in the night time doors where they suspected whores to be, others have been whole nights in the room with another man's wife alone. They can find time and leisure for these things, but cannot find any time or leisure for the worship of God, which is exceedingly neglected by all, notwithstanding your orders to the contrary. I have sometimes, having waited long enough, been forced at length to begin duty with only three or four persons present, and when we have done there hath not been above twelve or thirteen in all; but who amongst the writers are most guilty in this, your Worships may know by the enclosed list of their absence taken by me indifferently, some appointed thereunto by the Governors; of others no account is taken.

But because it is no less a sin to condemn the just than to justify the wicked, I must bear witness for most of the

young men, that they cannot, to the best of my knowledge, be accused of the former enormities. There are but a few of them that are guilty in the manner before described; whose names I would have inserted, that so I might clear the others, but that they have been lately sick, and some small hopes there are that they may amend; they have given some ground to expect it. But if they shall return with the dog to the vomit, I will, if it please God to spare me so long, give your Worships a more full account thereof by word of mouth, upon my arrival with the next ships; for as you have already been informed, I intend to return with them, and I hope with your good leave so to do. Therefore what I have written may in charity be supposed, not to proceed from expectation of any advantage to myself, but from respect to the glory of God, and their good and the encouragement of succeeding ministers.

I did write, what the last year's ships give an account, in a letter to Captain Brooekman, upon the civil usage I met with from the Governor and others of Council, and indeed generally from all as to mine own person, which I do not now retract, only I could wish they were more zealous. When I have complained of those former abuses, I have been told by several that persons here are a good deal more civilised than formerly they have been. If it be so, there is great cause to admire the patience and long suffering of God, but withal cause to fear that if those things be not reformed he will not always keep silence. The Governor I understand hath refused to listen to any that would prevent his firing of great guns, and then vollies of small shot by all the soldiers in garrison, at the consecration of a popish church within the walls; if he be therein acquitted by you I have no more to say, but pray that God himself would discountenance that idolatry and superstition so much countenanced by others, and prevent the hurt that may redound to the place and to your interests thereby.

One Mr. Mallory, formerly Surgeon's mate in the

President, and now Surgeon's mate in this place, and another, Barnes, who formerly went to sea as master of some small vessel, but having wasted the money entrusted to him, lives now idly and out of any employment. These two are constant companions with any of the young men in whatever debaucheries they were guilty of, and it gives ground for suspicion that they may be guilty of enticing them thereunto.

There are some other things that I would humbly have remonstrated to your worships, but because I intend, if it shall so please God, to see you with the next ships, at which time if it be acceptable it may more conveniently be done. I do therefore at present forbear, only praying that God would continue to prosper your undertaking, and enable you faithfully to design his glory therein, and lead you to the reasonable means that may conduce to his glory, in the encouragement of godliness, and restraint of sin in these places where your power reacheth. I am or desire to be

Right worshipfuls,
Your faithful servant,
According to my station,
PATRICK WARNER.

MADDRASS, *Jany.* 31*st* 1676.

## CHAPTER IV.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF SIR WILLIAM LANGHORNE.

### 1670—1677.

Before proceeding with the domestic history of Madras, we will leave the little Fort and Factory of St. George for a brief interval, and fly twelve hundred miles to the northward to the great city of Delhi. In 1670, Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, reigned over Hindustan. Two centuries have since passed away, but still we may take a glance at the imperial city, as it was in olden time. The mosques, domes, and minarets of Delhi, are gleaming in the morning sun. The wide straight streets are filled with pomp and grandeur. We see the airy houses, with courts and gardens, trees and fountains; and we may even peep into the interiors, and gaze on the hangings of rich embroidery, the carpets of thick silk radiant with flowers of every hue, the ceilings brilliant with gilding and colour, the quilted cushions of brocade interspersed with gold and silver. Without, the streets are enlivened with magnificent processions,—prancing horses, stately elephants, noble riders, dashing soldiery, and magnificent palanquins,—all glittering with variegated housings, and set off with sparkling jewels, and never ending displays of precious metal. A thousand instruments of music sound discordantly on the ear, whilst ever and anon the metallic strains are drowned in the booming of

heavy artillery. Perchance it is the birth day of the Great Mogul; and the crowd of Omrahs, whose honours, riches, and very lives depend upon the breath of his favour, are crowding to the great hall, to lay their choicest gifts before the "peacock's throne" of gold and gems. Perchance it is some great pageant, some combat of elephants or show of wild animals, at which the Tartar Emperor, and all his lords, and all the endless beauties of the seraglio, are to sit in state and grace the scene. But soon the eye palls. The air is reeking with perfumes.

> —"The gorgeous East with richest hand,
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearls and gold;"

but all is barbarism still; and we gladly permit the pageant to disappear, like a dream that is dreamed.

We wonder whether the court of merry king Charles was more civilized than the contemporary court at Delhi; whether the gaming, the drinking, and the licentiousness at Whitehall were more refined than the elephant fights, the pageants, and the banquets of Aurungzebe; whether the Nell Gwyns, the Palmers, the Querouailes, or the Davis's were more polished and enlightened than yon array of dusky beauties; or whether the Rochesters, the Buckinghams, or the Killegrews were more high minded and chivalrous than the Omrahs of the Great Mogul. But all men know the history of the reign of king Charles; let us glance for a moment at the character of the reign of Aurungzebe.

At the period of our story the power of the

Great Moguls had reached its zenith. The intrigues, the hypocrisies, and above all the remorseless murders by which Aurungzebe had obtained possession of the empire, were whispered amongst the trembling Omrahs of the court; but still these nobles ostentatiously sounded the praises of their sovereign in every quarter where it might reach his ears. Unlike the feudal nobility of Europe, their rank and pay depended wholly upon the imperial will. No son could inherit their titles or their estates; for the title was but a mark of personal favour, created by a smile, and fading away before a frown; and when they died, all the riches they left behind were claimed by the Emperor as sole heir. Thus, whilst every man in Delhi,—from the highest Omrah admitted to the presence, down to the fruitsellers, the confectioners, the porters, or even the sweepers of streets,—were all alike conscious that the Great Mogul was deeply concerned in the death of his brethren, if not implicated in the death of his father; yet all were declaring him to be the greatest, the wisest, and most pious emperor that ever adorned the peacock's throne,—king of kings, and sovereign lord of all the nations of the earth. Every enthusiastic moullah applauded his religious bigotry; and every astrologer in the empire,—from those who sat on the cushions with princes, to those who arranged their books and instruments on rusty carpets in the crowded bazaars,—all declared that he would live for ever, and that his power would be for everlasting.

In 1670 nothing could be more imposing and resplendent than the outward aspects of the empe-

rial rule. East and west the empire extended from Cashmere to Chittagong. In the south, the two great Mussulman Kingdoms of the Dekkan,—Bijapore, and Golconda,—were still in existence; but preparations were already being made to overwhelm them, and to extend the sway of the Mogul over Mussulman and Hindoo to the southern extremity of Comorin. A little cloud, as yet scarcely bigger than a man's hand, was appearing on the western ghats in the shape of the Mahrattas; and their daring leader Sevajee had already rendered himself formidable in the Dekkan against the decaying Mussulman powers—Bijapore and Golconda; As for the white faced traders at Surat or on the Hooghly, they were only known in the court of the Great Mogul by the presents they gave and the firmaans they desired; and it is more than doubtful whether the name of Fort St. George had at this time been ever heard at Agra or at Delhi.

The little district of Madraspatanam, could not, had its existence been known, have excited much interest at Delhi. It was separated from the dominions of the Great Mogul, by the large kingdom of Golconda or Hyderabad; a kingdom which had been recently compelled to pay tribute to Sevajee, but which yet apparently extended over Hyderabad and the Carnatic. For more than a century and a half, Golconda had been ruled by a dynasty of Mussulman kings, known as the Kuttub Shahs; but the commander in chief in the Carnatic appears to have been a man bearing the title of Neiknam Khan. To this commander-in-chief, the Presidency at Fort St. George gave

the title of Nabob; and it was from him that they obtained the cowle for the district of Madraspatanam after the flight of the Rajah of Chandragheri.

In preceding chapters we sketched the history of Madras from the foundation of Fort St. George to the dispatch of Sir Edward Winter and Mr. Foxcroft to England about the year 1670. We also drew up from the records a picture of Fort St. George, as it existed in that early time. In our present issue we propose to resume the history from 1670 when Sir William Langhorne became Governor; and to pursue it until the year 1677, when he was recalled from the administration of affairs and Mr. Streynsham Master, was appointed in his room.

The history of the Governorship of Sir William Langhorne opens another curious series of events, which find little or no place in published history. As early as 1665, the Directors at home had heard that a French East India Company was being formed, and that a French expedition would shortly be sent out to compete with the Dutch and English in the profits of the Coromandel trade; and it was this circumstance which led to the enlarging and strengthening of the fortifications of Fort St. George, and to the great increase in the garrison. The intelligence proved to be perfectly correct. Colbert, the greatest financial and commercial statesman of the age, was Comptroller General under Louis XIV. His genius had been largely devoted to the extension of the foreign trade of the French nation; and at this period he was in the receipt of some very able communications from Bernier,—

the celebrated French physician who was then residing in the Court of Aurungzebe,—respecting the government of India, its pecuniary resources, its military strength, and its immense expenditure. Accordingly he had procured from his royal master an arrêt for the establishment of a French East India Company, under the patronage of Louis, and under the management of twelve Directors of which he himself was the President. Large subscriptions poured in, and an armament was prepared, but three or four years appeared to have elapsed before the expedition appeared in the Bay of Bengal.

Some of the causes of this delay may be gathered from the political history of the period. The foreign policy of the Stuarts generally, had lowered England to the condition of a third or fourth rate power; but the foreign policy of Charles II was a deep disgrace to the whole nation. Whilst Louis was rapidly becoming the arbiter of Europe and threatening to become master of Spain and the Netherlands, England had submitted to his insults, and madly engaged in a war with the Dutch. At last the old national spirit of Englishmen was aroused. Sir William Temple was sent to Holland, and concluded the celebrated Triple Alliance, by which the three Protestant powers,—Great Britain, Holland, and Sweden,—were united to resist the encroachments of France. For a moment Louis was checkmated. But the love of the Protestant religion found no echo in the breast of Charles. In heart he was a Roman Catholic; in heart he was anxious to fling off the constitutional restraint of a British Parliament. Louis plied

him with money, and Charles accepted the bribes. Louis endeavoured still further to bind him through his pleasures. An artful beauty was sent over, named Louise Querouaille; and Charles eagerly caught at the bait, and not only made her his mistress, but created her Dutchess of Portsmouth. These intrigues resulted in a secret treaty in 1670, by which Charles sacrificed the Dutch and entered into an alliance, thus selling himself and his crown to the designs of Louis. In 1672, the deception came to light; and the people of England, who had hailed the Triple Alliance with enthusiasm, found that their treacherous sovereign had allied himself to Rŏman Catholic France, and that the two powers had combined to make war upon Protestant Holland.

The East India Directors at home, and their agencies abroad, hated alike the French and the Dutch as commercial rivals; but still they never forgot that the Dutch were Protestants like themselves; and their commercial hatred towards the French was aggravated by the old national hatred, which was at this time further stimulated to the highest pitch by the antagonism of religion. Both before and after this unnatural war against Holland, if a member of the Dutch Agency at Pulicat visited Fort St. George during a time of festivity, he was warmly entertained at the Factory; and a notice is still preserved in the records, that at one Christmas time, the third member of the council at Pulicat, having come that morning to Madraspatanam, with his wife and other friends, they were all invited and entertained at the general feast, which the Presi-

dency was accustomed to give at that joyous season to all English men and English ladies of the town. In what light our French allies were regarded, we shall have occasion to tell hereafter. For the present we must go on with our narrative.

In 1671, the French armament of twelve ships under the command of Admiral De la Haye, appeared off the coast of Malabar, and commenced their trading by the old Dutch system of giving extravagant prices for Indian products, and selling European goods at rates ruinously low. The next year the same fleet appeared off Ceylon, and established themselves at Trincomalee, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch. From Trincomalee it sailed up the Coromandel Coast, an event which is remarkable as the first appearance of the French in the Bay of Bengal. In 1672, the French admiral unexpectedly landed three hundred men and some guns at St. Thomé. At that time St. Thomé, like all the neighbourhood, was in the occupation of the Mussulmans, inasmuch as it was included in the dominions of the Kuttub Shahs of Golconda. The Mussulman forces in the district assembled in considerable force, but their resistance was of no avail. In July the French took the place by storm, and all efforts made by the Golconda authorities to expel them were equally vain.

We need not dwell upon the excitement which this event created at Fort St George. Sir William Langhorne was in a position requiring the utmost prudence and foresight. The French were allies of King Charles, and as such he dared not attempt to expel them from St. Thomé. At the same time

he felt that their vicinity to Madraspatanam was dangerous in the extreme. If the French alliance continued,—an alliance at that time so hateful to the bulk of the British nation,—the vicinity of the French to the English Factory, would embarrass the trade in every possible way. If on the other hand the alliance should be broken, and another war break out with France, then the conflict between Madraspatanam and St. Thomé would be a war to the knife, which could only be terminated by the destruction of one settlement or the other. In this dilemma Sir William Langhorne seems to have determined not to interfere. England was at war with the Dutch and in alliance with France. He would not assist the French because, irrespective of any national dislike, such a step would subject him to the fierce hostility of the Golconda authorities; at the same time, he could not assist the Dutch because Holland was regarded as an enemy, nor attack the French because France was regarded as an ally.

Meantime the Dutch fleet, under Rickloff Van Goens, the Dutch Governor General of India, was cruising along the coast of Coromandel. Van Goens laid seige to St. Thomé, and endeavoured to wrest it from the French, but this attempt failed, and throughout 1672 St. Thomé continued in the hands of the Gallie invaders; a circumstance which is said to have had a damaging effect upon the influence of the Dutch with the Golconda authorities. The Dutch were unfortunately more successful against the English, who ought to have been regarded as their friends. The Dutch fleet of four-

teen vessels encountered the English Company's homeward fleet of ten ships on its passage from Bengal. A running engagement took place on the 22nd August 1673, of which no details appear to have been preserved, but in which one ship was sunk by the enemy and two fell into his hands. The remainder escaped to Madras, and after being repaired, were enabled to proceed on their way to Europe.

The position of Sir William Langhorne all this time was difficult in the extreme. The French at St. Thomé were exasperated with him for not assisting them against the Dutch. They also tried to borrow money of him, which being civilly refused, rendered them more inveterate than ever. At the same time he found that the officers of the Mussulman army,—who, like the Dutch, were vainly endeavouring to reduce St. Thomé,—were equally enraged at his declining to help them to drive out the French; and it was determined in consultation to send presents of scarlet broad cloth, looking glasses, sandals, and other similar articles, at a cost of some three hundred and sixty Pagodas in order to appease the Commanders, Havildars, and Chief Brahmins in the Mussulman camp, and put an end to the lying complaints which were said to have been reported to His Excellency the Nabob, or, as we should call him, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of Golconda. It may here be remarked that the General of the Mussulman force encamped against the French, was a certain Bobba Sahib; and that the above mentioned presents failed to remove his hatred to the English

Agency at Fort St. George. In after years Bobba Sahib had cause to regret this exhibition of hostility, as will be seen by the following extract from the consultations of the Agency, dated 6th May, 1678 :—"Bobba Sahib, formerly general of the king of Golconda's force against the French at St. Thomé, and in those days a bitter enemy to the English, but now in disgrace and debt, has been some days here trying all ways to borrow money, and to have an interview with the Governor, which is refused him by reason of his former unkindnesses when he was in power, and he in despair quits the place for Pullimalee, intending to go to his own country.

But to return to our story. A year and a half passed away, and the French still remained in possession of St. Thomé. Within that time they had established a camp at Triplicane, and fortified it far more strongly than the English were fortified at Fort St. George. Sir William Langhorne and his Council were even contemplating the advisability of abandoning Madraspatanam altogether; but afterwards decided on more energetic measures. At a consultation held on the 2nd February 1674, it was recorded that the interests of the Honorable Company, as well as the lives of the members of the Presidency, were staked upon the issue of the seige. That their enemies at sea and land were within musket shot; that their walls were slight and tottering; that they were pestered with the great native town close to them; and that the Dutch Governor General was daily expected with a large fleet. Under these

circumstances they resolved, after mature consideration, to enlarge and strengthen their fortifications as much as possible; but their efforts in this direction do not seem to have much increased their strength, or to have rendered them more independent of the belligerent powers. Four Frenchmen from Java were staying in Fort St. George; and in May, we find the Dutch and Mussulmans peremptorily requiring their removal. For a long time Sir William Langhorne refused to comply, as the Frenchmen were allies; but at last the Mussulman army fairly laid seige to Fort St. George, and would hear of no further delay. The Frenchmen, on their part, refused to leave the place unless they were permitted to go to St. Thomé, and there the Dutch and Mussulmans would not allow them to proceed. At last, the President in Council resolved to send them under passports and an escort to Bijapore; and there they seem to have gone, loudly protesting however against the proceeding, inasmuch as they were subjects of the king of France, a friend and ally of the crown of England.

For two years the French thus held possession of St. Thomé. At length, on the 26th August 1774, they surrendered to the Dutch, on the condition that the garrison should be transported to Europe. The Dutch in their turn agreed to cede St. Thomé to the Nabob; and the President and Council at Fort St. George hoped that the place would be demolished altogether, so that it might never again be occupied by an European power. Fortunately for the Agency, at that

moment the news arrived from Europe, that in the preceding January peace had been concluded between England and Holland. But for that happy peace, the Dutch would have followed up the capture of St. Thomé, with the seige of Fort St. George; and there can be but little doubt but that the fall of the place would have followed, for the fortifications were still but weak, and there were only two hundred and fifty men in garrison.

Such was the famous French occupation of St. Thomé from July 1672 to August 1674; an event which for many a long year afterwards was a household tale in the little settlement, but which has now faded away from the memory of men. The incidents connected with it, which are recorded in the consultations, are but few in number. The garrison was often kept in a state of alarm by the Dutch and Mussulmans. One night the Captain of the auxiliary forces, whilst on guard, was shot dead by the sentinel at the Choultry gate, who seems to have suspected him of being an enemy. At intervals however, the trade of the Agency went on after a fashion, through a merchant named Cassa Verona, who figures largely in the early annals. This Cassa Verona seems to have taken off large quantities of the goods from Europe; to have supplied such Native goods as were required by the Agency for shipment to England; to have distributed such presents as were sent by the Agency to the Mussulman Chiefs; and to have assisted in the transmission of money from one station to another. The Directors at home appear to have been very suspicious of Cassa Verona; and be-

lieved, not without show of reason, that he was the channel through which the members of the Agency carried on their private trade, and other doubtful but very profitable undertakings. In a general letter to the Presidency, they expressed their decided objection to the trade being limited to one firm; and they requested that all merchants might be encouraged to supply goods, and that thus a healthy competition might be introduced into the Native markets. This laudable attempt to plant free trade in India, whilst violently fighting for their monopoly at home, does not seem to have met with the success which it deserved. Cassa Verona continued to be the confidential adviser of the members of the Agency for many a year afterwards; ostensibly on the plea that by so doing the Company was preserved from bad debts, but in reality on private grounds which we shall presently have occasion to disclose.

The subserviency of the merchants at Fort St. George to the chief officers of state in the Court at Golconda or Hyderabad, was very striking throughout the whole of the present period. They likened these ministers of state to the Lieutenant General, the Lord Chancellor, and the Comptroller General of European Courts; and treated them with far more respect than they would have treated the English officers of state at home. The Fort of St. George and Town of Madraspatanam had been held by a cowle, originally granted by Neiknam Khan, who, as we have already stated, is styled Nabob of Golconda, but who in all probability was Com-

mander-in-Chief of the army of the Carnatic.* By this cowle it was stipulated that the Agency at Fort St. George, on paying 1200 pagodas per annum rent, was to hold the Fort and Town free of any other imposition whatever. In 1672 Neiknam Khan died and his successor Mirza Ibrahim Khan is said to have confirmed the firmaun of his predecessor. Accordingly the usual presents were made to Mirza Ibrahim Khan; and subsequently, during the French occupation of St. Thomé, the favour of the Court was still further sought by means of presents to the principal officers of state. Amongst the latter is specially mentioned "Maddana the great Bramany who is the great Mogumdar and the chiefest person in power next to the king himself;" an individual whom we have not the slightest hesitation in identifying with Madna Pant, who conducted the government and financies of Abul Hassan, king of Golconda, and who pos-

* No traces of this Neiknam Khan can be discovered in the history of Golconda; and indeed the name is an ordinary title, and another Neiknam Khan is mentioned by Bernier as an Omrah residing in the Court of Shah Jehan. His successor, whose name is variously spelt in the records as Moussa Khan and Mirza Ibrahim Khan, and who is also styled Nabob, is to be identified with the Ibrahim Khan, who, according to Elphinstone, was the commander-in-chief of the forces of Abul Hassan, the last king of Golconda. As Neiknam Khan is stated in the records to be the predecessor of Ibrahim Khan, we have assumed that, as like him he is called "Nabob," so like him he was Commander-in-Chief. No English history of the period appears to be in existence sufficiently full to clear up the matter.

sessed the full confidence of his royal master, but who was subsequently murdered during a tumult in the city. The Naiks in the immediate neighbourhood of Madraspatanam were also conciliated in a similar manner. In 1674, shortly before the retirement of the French, the Agency resolved to make a present to the Naik of Chingleput and the Naik of Palavarum, who were said to be old friends of the Company, and who were about to go to Golconda to celebrate the marriage of the first Naik with the daughter of the king's "Mufti," who was reported to have great influence with his Highness the king. On that occasion the Agency received in return more valuable presents than those they had given, so that the Company were gainers by the transaction; and accordingly, as it is naively recorded in the consultations, it was determined that the difference should be made up on some future occasion.

Another story, dug out of the records of the same year, is worth relating, as fully illustrating, not only the relation of the Agency at Fort St. George to the Court of Golconda, but the necessity which existed for those constant presents to the officers of the state and to the Naiks in the neighbourhood. Lingapa, the Naik of the Poonamalee district, appears to have been remarkably fond of peiscush, and very angry when he could not get it. His course of proceeding appears to have been to procure firmauns from His Highness, the king of Golconda, and then to extort presents in return for the firmauns. By these means he succeeded in obtaining peiscush

from the Dutch at Pulicat, and accordingly tried it on with the English at Fort St. George. Sir William Langhorne however resisted the demand. By the cowle and firmaun already obtained from Neiknam Khan, the Company was exempted from transacting any business excepting with the Divan; and accordingly the Agency sent Cassa Verona to Poonamalee to inform Lingapa, that they declined to take the firmaun and refused to pay the peiscush. Lingapa however appears to have had his revenge. Having paid a visit to the court at Golconda, he had a long conversation with the Chief Brahmin concerning the English and their town; the substance of which subsequently reached the ears of the English Agency through Cassa Verona, and was placed upon record. It appears to have been as follows. Lingapa informed the Chief Brahmin, that when he first entered upon the government of the Poonamalee district, he paid a visit to the Dutch at Pulicat, and was warmly welcomed and presented with a horse and other gifts; and that he then paid a visit to the Dutch at Sadraspatam, who received him with the same kindness, and gave him a gold chain, with many other presents. Here Lingapa paused. The Chief Brahmin took up the conversation by asking him, what the English at Chinnapatanam had given him on the same occasion. Then Lingapa grew eloquent and pathetic. He had, he said, carried a tasheriff to the English, and they had refused to take it; and they had further showed their contempt for him by neglecting to invite him to come to their town. That

Cassa Verona had experienced similar unkindness from the English, and had accordingly put a stop to a good part of his trade with them, and had come to him, Lingapa, and had spoken good words, and given him a gold chain valued at four hundred Pagodas. That he, Lingapa, having no encouragement to go to the English, had sent them a firmaun by his own people, which he had otherwise intended to have carried himself; and in return the English had only given his people some broadcloth and looking glasses, and nothing more.

The Chief Brahmin seems to have been much impressed by Lingapa's story. He remarked that the English were a scornful people, and that they had the government of a town which produced great sums of money. In former times, he said, Neiknam Khan had unadvisedly and foolishly let them have a town, which yielded several thousand Pagodas per annum, for the small rent of twelve hundred Pagodas per annum; and he even wondered that Lingapa, as Naik of Poonamalee, should suffer the English to retain the town on that score, and not keep an Havildar there. Lingapa replied that the English would not regard his authority; and that when he sent any of the Divan's corn to Chinnapatanam they actually made it pay custom. The Chief Brahmin then said that the cowle which had been given by Neiknam Khan had certainly been confirmed by the late king, Abdalla Kuttub Shah; but now that both were dead, the cowle must be considered to have died with

them; and that on the next day he would go to the reigning king Abul Hassan, and prevail upon him to send a Persian to be set over Chinnapatanam.

The Chief Brahmin was as good as his word: and thus by neglecting to conciliate the new Naik of Poonamalee with invitations and presents, the Agency at Fort St. George imperilled the existence of their settlement. The Chief Brahmin laid all the circumstances before the king Abul Hassan; and the king, as is usual in such cases, said that he would think about it. But other great persons of the court, who were present at the time, took upon themselves to remark that since St. Thomé was bereft of its inhabitants, Chinnapatanam had been very much enlarged both in population and trade, so that it had become a far more important place than even Pulicat, and that His Highness would do well to take some course respecting it. The subsequent advance of the Mahrattas appears to have distracted the attention of the Court of Golconda from the little district of Madraspatanam; but still many evil consequences fell upon the Agency. The trade in corn and paddy was forbidden. A request was made by the king of Golconda for a thousand yards of broad cloth; and the Agency felt obliged to send him six hundred yards, lest the trade in calicoes should be forbidden in like manner. Again, Mirza Ibrahim requested payment of the rent of the town six months in advance; and the Agency, considering such requests as equivalent to commands, sent the money to Golconda at once. Nor was this the

worst. The power of Lingapa increased so greatly throughout the country from Armaghaum to Bijapore, that the Agency felt themselves constrained to raise an additional force of a hundred soldiers and a hundred and fifty peons, and to collect provisions, and to order a thousand Pagodas worth of paddy, corn, and fuel from Masulipatam. Subsequently, by means of presents Lingapa became somewhat mollified; but we shall have occasion to tell other stories of this gentleman in a future chapter.

Such were some of the principal events which belong to the history of the Madras Presidency during the Government of Sir William Langhorne, which lasted from about 1670 to the end of 1677. Concerning the character of Sir William Langhorne himself we can say but little. He seems to have been a shrewd business like man, and far more tolerant of the religious opinions of others, than could have been expected in that intolerant age. He it was that fired a salute on the consecration of a Roman Catholic church within the walls; a piece of courtesy which very much offended, the Protestant Chaplain, Patrick Warner, and also brought down upon his head a severe rebuke from the Directors. "We note," said they in a General Letter of this period, "what, you say of firing your guns upon the naming of a church by the papists; we cannot approve thereof, and desire to give as little countenance and encouragement to that religion, as they do to ours; and we would have you discountenance, and discourage all

of our nation that any ways incline to that profession."

Sir William Langhorne fell a victim to those charges of private trade, which seem to have been brought against almost every servant of the Company at every one of the Indian stations. The sums acquired by these, and other doubtful transactions, were indisputably large. When considerable and certain profits were to be made, they preferred trading on their account, rather than on the account of the Company. Then again, the European goods of the Company were sold to merchants like Cassa Verona at low prices; and Indian goods were purchased from those merchants on behalf of the Company at high prices; and of course for such favours large presents were made to the several members of council. During the governorship of Sir Edward Winter, Cassa Verona and his partner were said to have thus defrauded the Company to an extent of something like 200,000 Pagodas; and with such small salaries as were paid by the Directors, there can be no doubt but that these underhand dealings were carried on to a degree which we must leave to the imagination of the reader.

In 1676 the Directors sent out a Major Puckle to inquire into existing abuses; just as some six or seven years previously they had sent out Sir William Langhorne to inquire into the quarrel which had broken out between Sir Edward Winter and Mr. Foxcroft. Sir William Langhorne was charged with receiving annually the sum of 20,000 Pagodas from Cassa Verona, in consideration of undue advantages said to have been afforded to the latter

in reference to the Company's trade. The accusation was indignantly denied by both parties; but its truth or falsity must be left to the judgment of our readers. If true, it must be confessed that the sum in question, amounting to something like £7000 sterling per annum, must have made a pretty addition to the £300 per annum allowed to the President by the honorable Company. At any rate the charge was believed by the Directors; and Sir William Langhorne was recalled, and Mr. Streynsham Masters reigned in his stead.

There is one other incident belonging to the administration of Sir William Langhorne, which may be narrated here. During the French occupation of St. Thomé, and whilst Dutch and Mussulmans were exciting general apprehension by their vicinity to the Fort, it became necessary to clear away a number of houses which clogged up the opening to a part of the fortifications called Caldera point, upon which at that moment an attack was expected from the Dutch. Amongst these houses was one which had been built at the very foundation of Madras; and accordingly the owner petitioned for compensation, on the ground that his ancestors had been invited to settle there by Mr. Francis Day, the first Agent; and that they could not possibly have known that the house they were building would ever prove offensive to the garrison. The petition is sufficiently quaint and curious to warrant our inserting it at length; though we fear it will somewhat confuse

and weary the reader, from the fact that it does not contain a single full stop, until the petitioner fairly pulls up at the last word.

*Petition of Mr. Thos. Clarke.*

To ye Hon'ble Sir Wm. Langhorn, Barronett, Agent and Governour in Councell, for Affairs of ye Hon'ble English East India Company in Fort St. George.

The humble Petition of Thos. Clarke,

SHEWETH,—That since ye late unhappy warr with ye arrivall of ye French to St. Thomè, occasioned both ye Dutch our enemies and Mores (not over-friendly, but for their own ends) to settle so near this place, thereby filling ye whole Town with reasonable apprehensions of danger, if not prevented by your wisdomes, and seeing your Wordship so well applyed ye remedy, by clearing ye passage surrounding ye Caldera point, clogged up with ye too neare approach of houses, among which was one belonging to your Petitioner, built thirty-foure yeares since, when either bulwarks nor scarce a house of noate appeared, becoming ye first Inhabitant through ye invitation of ye then Agent, who removed about that time from Armogon, do presume to hope being strongly led thereto by a promise from your Worship that I should be ye first person satisfied, since I have so sedulously and willingly obeyed your Worship's command in putting it downe without consulting what a great loss and inconvenience I must unavoidably suffer by such a deprivation, being reduced to very slender accommodation, since I need not mention to your Worship how impossible it was for my ancestors to imagine when first 'twas built, that it could be any waies offensive to ye Garrison, having allready declared no workes were then begun nor that they had the Agent's permission, he having invited my said ancestors to ye place, but leave all to your wise consideration, which, as I with confidence trust, will be sensible of my great suffering; so shall patiently wayt the effects of your goodness and justice, which I doubt not but will oblige your peti-

tioner ever to pray for your prosperity, and be ever ready to express himself.

Hon'ble Sir, &c., Councell,
Your most obliged and humble servant.

This petition was apparently forwarded about September 1675, as on the 28th of that month, it was resolved in council to order the Justices of the Choultry to levy from the inhabitants of Madraspatanam,—or rather the inhabitants of Black town, and other localities outside the wall of Fort St. George,—the sum of one hundred Pagodas towards the compensation of Mr. Clarke; and a further sum of a hundred and thirty Pagodas in return for a payment made by Cassa Verona in behalf of the Agency, for the removal of the sand from the sea side of the Fort. The levy scarcely amounted to two fanams per house, and yet it was found impossible to raise it. All the inhabitants of the place, and even all the merchants of the Agency excepting Cassa Verona, shut up all their shops and assembled in the pagoda; and at the same time they sent instructions to their castes up country to stop all supplies of provisions coming to Madraspatanam. They were even prepared to leave the place rather than submit to the levy; not, it is said, because they grudged payment of the money, but because they dreaded the precedent. Under such circumstances the Agency were compelled to abandon the proposed assessment.

In future issues we shall have frequent occasion to refer to the steps taken at various times to raise similar assessments from the inhabitants of this district, and which subsequently led to the institution

of a Mayor and Corporation. But the above attempt is worthy of record as the first that was made in this Presidency, and with it we close our history of the Governorship of the Honorable Sir William Langhorne in 1677, being the seventeenth year of the actual reign of King Charles, the second of that name.

# CHAPTER V.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER.

## 1677—1681.

The Governorship of Sir William Langhorne had been marked by the French occupation of St. Thomé. The Governorship of his successor, Mr. Streynsham Master, is distinguished by events of still greater significance, amongst which may be especially mentioned the first appearance in Southern India, of Sevajee, the great Mahratta. Before therefore proceeding with our history of Madras, it may be as well to glance at the strange circumstances and remarkable adventures, which are connected with the early life of the founder of the Mahratta empire.

Few events in Indian history are more deeply interesting than the rise of the Mahrattas. These short and sturdy mountaineers occupied the northern part of the chain of Ghats, which lines the western coast from Surat to Canara; and their appearance on the stage of history, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, is as refreshing as iced water. Wearied with the intrigues, the sensualities, and the barbaric splendour of Delhi, it is truly delightful to enter upon the stories of hairbreadth escapes and adventurous deeds, which enliven the annals of the Mahrattas.

The name of this famous people scarcely appears in the previous history of India. They first emerge into notice in connexion with the Mussulman kingdom of Ahmednuggur, which lay between the Ghats and the kingdom of Golconda. There many of the Mahratta chiefs distinguished themselves in the wars between the Nizam Shahs who reigned at Ahmednuggur, and the Great Mogul who reigned at Delhi. Amongst others was Mallojee, a member of the family of Bhonslay; a family which was then merely respectable, but which afterwards attained the highest eminence. This Mallojee was the grandfather of that great Mahratta chieftain, who, under the name of Sevajee, became terrible, not only to the Mussulman kings of the Dekkan, but even to the Great Mogul.

The story of the rise of the Bhonslay family is so romantic, that we shall inflict it upon our readers. Mallojee's patron was Jadow Row, a commander of 10,000 men in the army of Ahmednuggur. One day a festival was celebrated at the house of Jadow Row; and Mallojee attended with his little boy Shahjee, who was then only five years old. Presently the little boy began to play with the little daughter of Jadow Row, who was only three years old. Jadow, looking on, said that they were a fine pair, and ought to be man and wife. To his great surprise Mallojee instantly started up, and called on the company to witness that the daughter of Jadow had been contracted to his son. Jadow was thunderstruck at what he believed to be the presumption of his inferior, and a

rupture ensued between the two. But meantime Mallojee was on the road to fortune; and he was subsequently raised to the command of 5,000 horse, with the title of Mallojee Raja Bhonslay. The objection on the score of rank was thus removed. Shahjee was actually married to the daughter of Jadow, and became the father of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

Sevajee was born in 1627. He was brought up at Poona, where his father possessed a jaghire; and there he received a regular Mahratta education. Like William of Deloraine, he never could write his name; but he became a good archer and marksman, and could use the sword and spear right well. Above all he was an admirable horseman. His early associates were the cavalry soldiers under his father's command, and not unfrequently, the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghats. But still his intellectual culture was not wholly neglected. He delighted in the fabulous stories told in the Maha-Bharata and Ramayana; and especially in those tales of the gods, intermixed with music and song, which are known as Kuthas. He thus imbibed an early love of adventure. At the age of sixteen his hunting excursions had familiarized him with every path and defile throughout the Ghats; and he was even suspected of sharing in several extensive gang robberies committed in the Concan. Amongst his own countrymen, however, and especially amongst the wild inhabitants to the west of Poona, he was extremely popular; and he had already been imbued with a rooted hatred to the Mussulmans,

and indulged in the idea of rendering himself an independent prince in the country.

Meantime the circumstances of the family had undergone a great change. The kingdom of Ahmednuggur had been extinguished by the Great Mogul, and Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, had entered the service of the king of Bijapore. The attention of the government at Bijapore was soon attracted by the proceedings of the young Mahratta hero. At the age of nineteen, Sevajee took possession of a hill fort, and then sent Vakeels to the court of Bijapore to represent the advantages which would result from such an operation. Subsequently, he was fortunate enough to discover a large quantity of gold in the fort, and accordingly set to work to build another. The suspicions of the court were aroused, and letters were sent to Shahjee, who was in the Carnatic, calling his attention to the conduct of his son. Meantime, however, Sevajee had usurped his father's jaghire, and evaded paying up any revenue. Shortly after this, partly by bribery and partly by force, he took possession of other forts; and at length, at the age of twenty-one, he fairly revolted against the government of Bijapore. He seized a convoy of royal treasure, and attacked the Mussulman Governor of the northern Concan; and not only did he take the latter prisoner, but he also took possession of the country.

The court of Bijapore suspected Shahjee of being implicated in the proceedings of his son, and accordingly imprisoned him as a hostage for four years. Meantime Sevajee continued to maintain

his independence, and on the release of his father recommenced his aggressions. He even ventured to plunder some provinces belonging to the Great Mogul; but afterwards found it necessary to tender his submission, and profess his devotion to Aurungzebe.

We cannot follow the career of Sevajee in detail. In 1659, when about thirty-two years of age, he renewed his attacks upon Bijapore. A general was sent against him with a large army, but Sevajee pretended submission and prayed for a personal interview. The request was granted. The Mussulman general, proud of his success, advanced with only a single attendant. Sevajee was seen approaching with a timid and hesitating air, and apparently unarmed; but under his cotton tunic he wore a shirt of chain armour, and moreover had provided himself with a concealed dagger, and a terrible weapon known as "tiger's claws." This last weapon consists of sharp hooks of steel, which are fastened on the fingers, and lie concealed in the closed hand; but by opening the hand, the steel hooks spread out like claws, and enable the wearer to inflict a treacherous tiger-like blow, too horrible to be imagined. The wily Mahratta couched in obeisance before the Mussulman; and then struck him down with his claws, and dispatched him with the dagger. Meantime the Mussulman army had been secretly surrounded by the Mahrattas; and at a given signal the whole were suddenly attacked and vast numbers were slaughtered. Subsequently, the king of Bijapore marched against Sevajee in person. Hostilities lasted for

two years, but at last terminated in a peace, which left Sevajee in possession of his territories, and of an army of 7000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry.

An adventure which occurred about this time is still a theme of exultation to the Mahratta. Some of Sevajee's horse had been again ravaging the Mogul territory; and a Mogul general, named Shaista Khan, was sent against him. Shaista Khan advanced to Poona, and Sevajee felt himself compelled to retire to Singhar, a hill fort about twelve miles distant. At Poona, Shaista Khan had taken every precaution to prevent the admission of Mahrattas into the town, either individually or in large bodies. Singularly enough he occupied the very house in which Sevajee had passed his boyhood; and the latter determined at all hazards to revenge himself on the intruder. One evening after sun set, he proceeded to Poona with twenty-five men. He posted small bodies of infantry at intervals along the road, but only approached the town with the twenty-five. An arrangement had been previously made with the leader of a marriage procession, that Sevajee and his companions should join the wedding party. This arrangement was now carried out. Sevajee and his companions joined the noisy crowd, and paraded the town. When all was quiet, he proceeded straight to his old house, and suddenly gained admission through a back window. The women raised an alarm, but only just in time. Shaista Khan rushed to his own window, and lowered himself into the court; but in the very act of doing so, he received a blow which cut off two of his fingers. His son

and most of his attendants were killed on the spot. Sevajee retreated before the town was alarmed, and as he retired was joined by the parties posted along the road. Presently the whole body lit their torches, and the Mogul forces at Poona had the satisfaction of seeing their enemy ascend the hill fort at Singhar amidst a triumphant blaze of illuminations.

It was shortly after this event, namely, in the year 1664, that Sevajee first came into contact with the English at Surat. He had proceeded to the northward under the pretence of a religious pilgrimage; but had suddenly turned off with four thousand horse, and fallen upon the rich and defenceless city of Surat. The Native Governor of the place at once shut himself up in his castle. Most of the inhabitants took to the boats, or fled away up country. The English Factory contained property valued at eighty thousand pounds; but the Factors were brave men, and made such an obstinate resistance, that they not only saved their own property, but much that belonged to the Natives. Sevajee however plundered the town for six days, and finally carried off an immense booty.

The Great Mogul now sent a large army against Sevajee, and the latter again tendered his submission, and assisted the Moguls in their war against Bijapore. He even received a letter of compliments and thanks from Aurungzebe, and was invited to Delhi; but there the narrow minded bigotry of Aurungzebe was displayed in such an offensive manner, that Sevajee was mortally offended. Subsequently an apparent reconciliation was effected, and Sevajee was acknowledged as an independent Rajah. His

successes at this time were almost dazzling. He compelled the two kingdoms of the Dekkan,—Bijapore and Golconda,—to pay him a yearly tribute. He reduced his military and civil government to a regular system; and he managed to identify his own cause, with the cause of the national religion of the Hindoos as opposed to the bigoted measures of Aurungzebe.*

In 1670 Sevajee again plundered Surat, an event which is worthy of special mention, inasmuch as the English Factory was saved by the gallantry of Mr. Streynsham Master, at that time member of council at Surat, but afterwards Governor of Fort St. George. Meantime, the attention of Aurungzebe was drawn away from the Dekkan, by revolts in his more immediate neighbourhood. Sevajee rapidly increased in power and reputation; and even proposed to extend his conquests to the south of India. Towards the close of Sir William Langhorne's government, he marched for Hyderabad with 40,000 infantry and 30,000 horse, and made a definite treaty with Abul Hassan, king of Golconda. Shortly afterwards he passed close to Madras, on his way to the capture of Gingee and Vellore; but after conquering a large territory in Mysore, he was recalled by the intelligence that Golconda had been invaded by the Moguls.

We now return to the history of the Madras Presidency. Mr. Streynsham Master seems to have been in one way a different character from his im-

* The authorities for all facts obtained from published histories, independent of the public records, will be acknowledged at the conclusion of the present work.

mediate predecessors. He had not been sent direct from home to take up the government of Fort St. George, but he had already enjoyed considerable experience in the Company's trade. Originally he appears to have belonged to the Surat establishment, and there he was appointed acting President during the absence of President Aungier on a visit to the new colony at Bombay. Subsequently, after the return of Aungier, Mr. Master distinguished himself, as we have already indicated, by a gallant defence of the Company's house at Surat. About this time the Directors at home were much harassed by continual disputes regarding the succession to the Governorship of their Agencies in India. Accordingly, two years before the recall of Sir William Langhorne, Mr. Streynsham Master was appointed to succeed him, in the event of any contingency taking place, which would deprive the Agency of the services of Langhorne. In order to qualify Mr. Master for this high rank, he was sent first, to act as Agent at Masulipatam; then he was ordered to proceed to Bengal, and introduce a new system of administration in the Factories on the Hooghly; and lastly, he was directed to act as second member of council at Fort St. George, until the term of Sir William Langhorne's government should expire.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact month when Mr. Streynsham Master became Governor. We only know that it occurred in 1677. His administration lasted for only four years. Like his predecessor, he soon lost the confidence of the directors; but the causes of his recal will be suffi-

38923

ciently manifest from the history of his Government. With the exception of the approach of Sevajee and his quarrel with Lingapa, the events of his Government are chiefly of a domestic character. It is evident from the records that the little Agency was somewhat alarmed at the tidings which reached it from time to time of the doings of Sevajee; and its alarm was in no way lessened by the stories, which Mr. Master could himself tell, of the previous plunder of Surat. On 9th May 1677 we find recorded a resolution to prepare for defence in consequence of the approach of Sevajee. Five days afterwards a messenger was received from Sevajee, and it would seem that Mr. Master's experience had enabled him to propitiate the great Mahratta. But we extract the official narrative from the consultation :—

"14th May 1677. Having this day received a message and a letter from Sevajee Rajah by a Brahmin and two others of his people, requesting some cordial stones and counter poisons, we resolved to send him some, together with a civil letter, by a messenger of our own, as a small present, together with some such fruit as these gardens afford, and to bestow upon his Brahmin three yards of broad cloth and some sandalwood, not thinking it good to require the money for so small trifles, although offered in his letter; considering how great a person he is, and how much his friendship does already and may import the Honorable Company as he grows more and more powerful and obvious to them." The value of the present thus sent to Sevajee is carefully stated in detail; from which it

appears that the cost of the whole was something like sixty pagodas.

A few days afterwards Sevajee sent for more cordials and medicines, and again the orders of this dangerous Mofussil customer were promptly attended to; the bill being ignored a second time, in a fashion which is but rarely followed by the modern mercantile community of this Presidency. Subsequently, Sevajee asked for some English engineers; but that application was politely declined. In August 1678, news reached the Agency from Conjeveram, forty miles from Madras, to the effect that some fifteen hundred of Sevajee's horse were at that place under the command of his brother, and that the latter intended to advance and take the Fort at Poonamallee. Sevajee, as it was there recorded, was in full possession of all the countries round the strong forts of Gingee and Vellore, worth yearly about eleven lakhs of pagodas, or about half a million sterling. Subsequently the Brahmin engaged to look after the interests of the Agency at Golconda, sent the comfortable intelligence to Fort St. George that Sevajee had given orders for the plunder of Sadraspatanam, Madraspatanam, and Pulicat. Fortunately, the return of Sevajee to his own territories dissipated most of these fears; and the Agency was gladdened by the intelligence that the Mahrattas had retired after having had some terrible engagements with the Naik of Mysore. The following extract entered in the Consultation book in January 1679, respecting the army of Mysore, will be sufficient to indicate the savage character of Native warfare:—

"Their custom is not to kill, but to cut off the noses with the upper lips of their enemies; for which they carry an iron instrument with which they do it very dexterously, and carry away all the noses and lips they despoyle their enemys of, for which they are rewarded by the Naik of Mysore according to the number, and the reward is the greater, if the beard appear upon the upper lip. This way of warfare is very terrible to all that those people engage with, so that none care to meddle with them; they being also a resolute people, and have destroyed many that have attempted them, for though they kill them not outright, yet they dye by lingering deaths, if they make not themselves away sooner, as for the most part they do that are so wounded, the shame and dishonor of it being esteemed greater than the pain and difficulty of subsisting."

The principal domestic events in the administration of Mr. Master appear to be the erection of a high Court of judicature, the building of St. Mary's church in the Fort, the introduction of stringent laws respecting the Roman Catholics, and the extraordinary disasters which befel the Agency in consequence of the continued intrigues of Lingapa. The history of these curious circumstances we shall now proceed to record in detail.

The new Court of judicature originated in March 1678. The inhabitants of Madraspatanam had greatly increased, and many complaints had been made of the want of an administration in justice in cases which could not be decided by the Justices of the Choultry. Accordingly the Agent and

Council resolved that, under the royal charter, they had power to judge all persons living under them, in all cases, whether criminal or civil, according to the English laws, and to execute judgment accordingly; and therefore it was determined that the Governor and Council should sit in the Chapel in the Fort on every Wednesday and Saturday, to hear and judge all causes; and that the Justices of the Choultry, and constables under them, should execute all orders of the Court, such as writs, summonses for Jurymen, executions after judgment, and apprehensions of criminals. This high court of judicature was by no means intended to supersede the court of the Justices of the Choultry. All small misdemeanors, breaches of the peace, actions for debt not exceeding fifty pagodas, were still to be decided by these Justices.

The establishment of this Court had indeed become a great public necessity. In cases of murder or manslaughter, the delinquent was frequently kept in prison for a year or more, and then sent home to be tried by the English courts. Only two or three months previously, two soldiers had been sent home after long confinement, to be tried for a crime committed during the administration of Sir William Langhorne. The case is sufficiently interesting to be narrated at length, and we accordingly print the official memorandum:—

"Memorandum, that in or about three of the clock in the afternoon, one Thomas Savage, soldier of Fort St. George, being in drink, did abuse with bad words his Officer, by name John Waterhouse, Serjeant, who at that time had the command of the

Choultry Guard, under his Ensign John Trimbrell, who was then absent. Upon being thus abused the said Serjeant Waterhouse commanded the Corporal, Edward Short, to tie Savage down upon his cot; but Savage continuing to be abusive, the Serjeant commanded the said Corporal to bind him neck and heels, the which was forthwith performed, but it seems that the Corporal not doing it as he ought, the prisoner Thomas Savage complained, saying 'do not hang me.' The Corporal replied, 'No Thomas, I won't hang thee, but I will tie thee fast.' So after he had been bound the time of three or four inches of match were burnt out, which was by command of the Serjeant lighted, he was unbound, and being loosed, was found dead, and not seen to stir. Whereupon, notice being brought to the Governor Sir William Langhorne, Baronet, by Captain Lieutenant James Bett, the Governor ordered the said Lieutenant Bett to go to Timothy Wilkes one of the Justices of the Town, to desire him to send some sufficient gentlemen of the English nation, to go along with him, the said Wilkes, and to see the dead body, and then to make inquiry how his death happened, before its burial, which accordingly was immediately performed." As we have already mentioned, the Serjeant and Corporal were sent to England for trial during the Government of Mr. Streynsham Master.

Within a few days of the establishment of the new Court of judicature, the first foundations were laid of St. Mary's Church in the Fort, one of the most interesting structures which are still existing in this Presidency. The ground was first broken

up on Lady day, in the year 1678; and in consequence of this circumstance it was resolved to give to the Church the name of St. Mary. On the following Easter Monday, the laying of the foundations of the new Church was fairly commenced. The expenses of the building were to be entirely defrayed by the voluntary subscriptions of the English in those parts. According to the records it was to be eighty feet long, and fifty-six feet broad, within the walls; and it was to be built with three aisles, arched with brick and stone. The building of the church was completed in two years and a half from the date of laying the foundations; and we extract the following account of the consecration from the consultations, in which however many of our readers will perceive with regret that the worthy Chaplain, Patrick Warner, had really returned to Europe, and that his pulpit was occupied by a successor, the Rev. Richard Portman:—

"Thursday, 28th October, 1680. The new Church was dedicated by virtue of commissions directed to the Government, and to Mr. Richard Portman the minister, from his Lordship the Bishop of London. The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with vollies of small shot fired by the whole garrison drawn out, and the cannon round the Fort. The church named St. Mary's as at first intended, and from this day forward all public service to be there performed.

"It is observable that at the dedication of a new Church by the French Padres and Portuguese in 1675, Sir William Langhorne then Agent, had

fired guns from the Fort; and yet at this time neither Padre nor Portuguese appeared at the dedication of our Church, nor so much as gave the Governor a visit afterwards to wish him joy of it."

Poor Sir William Langhorne! Five years had passed away, and yet the memory of that Protestant saltpetre, which he had burned in honour of a Roman Catholic Church, had not yet passed away from the nostrils of Fort St. George. Mr. Master was a better Protestant in one sense than his predecessor. His great difficulty was the intermarriage of the soldiers with the Roman Catholic women of the country. The same year that the Church was dedicated, the whole matter was discussed in Council; and the resolutions arrived at, and the order issued in consequence, are all so illustrative of the age, that we give the extracts at length.

"Monday, 22nd March, 1680: It fell under consideration whether it consisteth with our religion and interest to admit of marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics in this place, and upon the debate resolved:—

"1st, That it is not against the law of God in Holy Scripture, nor the laws of England, and hath frequently been practised in England for Protestants to marry Roman Catholics.

"2nd, That the Roman Catholics of this place, being the offspring of foreign nations, chiefly Portuguese, and born out of England, and not liable to the laws of England provided against Roman Catholics, they always owning themselves vassals to the king of Portugal.

"3rd, That it is our interest to allow of marriages with them, especially our men with their women, to prevent wickedness, and in regard there is not English women enough for the men, and the common soldiers cannot maintain English women and children with their pay, as well as they can the women of the country, who are not so expensive and not less modest than our ordinary or common people are, and in matter of marriages we have already gained by them many hopeful children brought up in the Protestant religion.

"It is also further to be remembered that these Roman Catholics of the Portuguese nation were invited hitherto upon our first settlement; ground was given them to build upon; a Church and French Priests were allowed, to encourage them to come in and inhabit here; and they have been loyal and serviceable in the defence of the place in time of war, and are a great security to us on that account. Moreover our greatest income arises from the customs upon their commerce."

Bravo Streynsham Master! a true type of the merchant. Whatever is profitable must be virtuous, and in this case toleration was profitable. Unfortunately, at that time, there were two Protestant Chaplains at Fort St. George, viz. the Rev. Richard Portman, and the gentleman sent out to succeed him, a Rev. Richard Elliot. Accordingly on the following Thursday these two Chaplains were taken into Council. The result may be easily imagined, but we give the incident in full:—

"Thursday, 25th March, 1680. The marriages

of Protestants with Roman Catholics being again taken into consideration, the Honorable Company's two Chaplains, Mr. Richard Portman and Mr. Richard Elliot, were sent for into the Council, and upon the debate it is concluded, resolved, and ordered.

"That upon the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic, both the parties to be married shall solemnly promise before one of the Chaplains of the place by themselves, or some for them, before the Banns shall be published, and also in the Chapel or Church by themselves in person, upon the day of marriage and before the parties shall be married, that ALL the children by them begotten and born, shall be brought up in the Protestant religion, and herein due care shall always be taken by the overseers of the orphans and the poor."

How happy is the interference of the State in matters of religion. It was profitable to the Government to suffer their soldiers to marry Roman Catholics, but the happiness of the mother was to be sacrificed. How pleasant to the feelings of a mother to remember that she had bound herself by oath to give up every pledge of conjugal affection to be educated in what she believed to be a heresy.

Before leaving this subject it may be as well to remark that at this period the Agency was far more inclined to favour the French priests, who were Capuchins, rather than the Portuguese who appear to have made themselves very disagreeable. As

the subject is interesting, we extract the following resolution from the consultations :—

"Thursday, 4th April, 1678. And in regard the Town is very much pestered with Portuguese Popish Priests more than in former times, it having always been the care of the first Agents in this place not to suffer those sorts of Priests to intermeddle, or to admit them to have anything to do in this Town, but wholly left the government of the Roman Church to the two French Capuchin Friars Ephraim and Zenon (for whom the Church was first licensed to be built)—men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the government of the place and the English interest; it is therefore thought fit that convenient opportunity be taken by degrees, as they shall give occasion through ill behaviour, to remove some of the Portuguese Priests out of the Town, that there may not remain more than is necessary to content the inhabitants of that nation and religion, and not such a number as will be a charge and burden to them, and breed disturbance in the Town."

The attitude of the English towards the Natives is strikingly illustrated by the remarkable train of circumstances, which followed the resistance offered by Mr. Master to the intriguing demands of Lingapā. This gentleman, as we indicated in our last chapter, was Naik of Poonamallee, and collected the rents of all the surrounding neighbourhood for his royal master Abou Hassan, king of Golconda. During the present administration, he seems to have chiefly carried on his intrigues through Cassa Verona, the

native merchant through whom Sir William Langhorne was said to have carried on some extremely profitable speculations. In August 1678, Lingapa was about to go to Golconda, to treat upon some offers he had made to the Divan for improving the king's revenue. Accordingly he wrote to Cassa Verona, threatening to do the town of Madraspatanam all the mischief at court that he possibly could do, unless Verona lent him a sum of money; if however the loan were granted him, then he promised to be very kind at court as regarded the affairs of the English Agency. Shortly after this he wrote another letter saying that he should return again with much greater authority than ever, and that it would be to the interest of the English Agency to part very friendly with him, in other words to give him a peiscush. To all this nice little intriguing, Vernoa replied that Mr. Governor Master was very busy at present with the dispatch of the ships to Bengal, so that he had no leisure to receive a visit from Lingapa; and that the English Agency acknowledged no other authority than that of the king Abou Hassan, and the Nabob Mirza Ibrahim Khan. Upon this Lingapa endeavoured to stop the coining of pagodas in the mint at Fort St. George. He wrote another letter to Verona, saying, that he had sent his men to bring away immediately all the shroffs and coiners in Madraspatanam, together with all the chops and stamps for coining pagodas. Verona of course communicated this intelligence to the Agency, and was directed to reply to the effect that the shroffs

and coiners in the Fort mint were Company's servants; and that the chops and stamps were not in their custody but in the custody of their English masters; and that consequently the shroffs and coiners could not go, nor could they take the chops and stamps with them, without the permission of Mr. Governor Master. Verona also added, that Lingapa was ill advised to send for the men from Madraspatanam, inasmuch as they were entirely at the command of the English Agency; for both the late king Abdallah Kuttub Shah, and the reigning king Abou Hassan, had settled the command of the Town and Mint upon the English, in the same way that the latter had possessed it in the time of the Hindoo Rajah of Chandragheri, before the country fell under the dominion of the kings of Golconda.*

In the following month Lingapa came in person

* A singular accident which befel the Fort Mint at this time may be recorded in a note. "The Coiners in the Mint having melted down 170 ounces of alloy ⅔ silver ⅓ copper in an earthen pot to alloy the gold, and having taken it off the fire, going to pour it into water mixed with cow dung, the said pot or crucible of melted alloy flew all into the air, giving a report like a great gun, so that it hurt many people near it, and the sentinels at the doors. It flew up upon the curtains, and it stuck fast upon the walls like small sand or dust. The pot it was melted in, and that in which they were pouring it, flew quite away, so that neither of them could be found; and there was lost about 40 ounces of the alloy, the rest being gathered and swoop up as aforesaid. The reason of this accident is supposed to be caused by the water, into which they went to pour the melted alloy, not being of a sufficient heat to receive it."

from Trivalore to Madraspatanam. Verona had recently lost his wife, and Lingapa ostensibly came on a ceremonious visit to condole with him; and accordingly proceeded to Verona's garden house which was situated outside the town. The ceremony of condolence being over, Lingapa informed Verona that the King of Golconda, and his great minister Madana Pant, had revoked the orders for his going to court, and had appointed him to stay in the country and use all diligence in the collection and improvement of the king's rents; and that he had received a firmaun in Persian and Gentoo, which he showed to Verona, requiring all the commanders of the royal forces in those parts to obey his orders. At last after much similar discourse, having peiscush for its object, he asked Verona why Mr. Governor Master took no notice of him, and why he had not sent to compliment him. Verona replied that he ought to have sent and acquainted the Governor with his coming. "Why," cried Lingapa, "do you think he does not know that I am here." "Yes," answered Verona, "no doubt he knows it, for he has intelligence of the smallest matter; but he is not concerned to notice it, unless you had first communicated with him."

Lingapa now changed his tactics. Like a thorough bred Asiatic he began to extol himself, and to boast of his great honours and employments. He had, he said, been entrusted with the collection of two lakhs of pagodas per annum, and he wondered that the English Governor should think himself in any way equal to him. He was surprised that Mr. Governor Master, who had

lived so long a time in Gujerat, and who understood the Mussulman language and customs, should not give him a peiscush. In this strain he went on talking until midnight, and then on taking leave he said that he had something still more important to impart. This was that for the future he would not accept Verona's own yearly present in broad cloths and looking glasses; but that he would have it all in gold chains; and that he must have two hundred pagodas this year more than usual, and also a Persian horse, because the English Governor had not made him any present. To this proposal, he said, he expected an answer in five days, and threatened if Verona did not punctually comply with it, then he would impede all his business and investments in the country. Having thus brought his discourse to an end, he departed before day break to return to Poonamallee, and thence on to Trivalore.

The above authentic relation furnishes a very correct illustration of the difficulties which the English had to contend with in dealing with the Native powers. Cassa Verona died in 1680, and then further difficulties arose, in which Lingapa exhibited his power and entailed immense loss on the Agency. On one occasion a native officer named Shiek Ahmed, came to Madraspatanam, attended with peons beating drums and carrying a flag as Havildar. This man declared that he had been appointed to take the command of the town for the king of Golconda. The Governor promptly sent three files of soldiers after him, and brought him into the Fort; and after examining him sent

him out of the town. Subsequently the Brahmin who superintended the affairs of the English at the court of Golconda, advised the Agency that a Havildar had been sent, but recommended that he should not be admitted. Meantime, our old friend Lingapa, stopped the native goods going to Madraspatanam, because the Havildar had not been received. Remonstrance seemed to be in vain. Lingapa declared that now Verona was dead, he must have a rental of 2000 pagodas for the town, instead of the 1200 pagodas paid previously. The embargo continued for months and extended to provissions as well as goods. Sometimes an armed force was marched out of the Fort, and obtained the goods and provisions by force. In December 1680, Lieutenant Richardson set out for Poonamallee at the head of 400 peons and 12 files of garrison soldiers, and carried off a large quantity of property belonging to the Agency. For this service all concerned were rewarded in a way which will seem strange in the eyes of the present generation. A silk scarf was given to each of the four commissioned officers; a hogshead of arrack was given to the soldiers of the garrison; the chief peon got two and a quarter yards of broad cloth; and five pagodas were distributed amongst the main body of the peons to enable them to have a feast worthy of the occasion.

It is impossible to over-estimate the troubles that befel the Agency at this time. The Agency even contemplated removing to some settlement in the Gingee territory, which should be altogether out of the dominions of the king of Gol-

conda. Neither food, nor fuel to cook it could be obtained; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had been expressly ordered by Lingapa to sell nothing to the English. Madraspatanam was filled with complaints, and even the officers and soldiers of the garrison were reduced to great straits. At last, in April 1681, the brave Lieutenant Richardson already mentioned, obtained permission from the Governor and council to try their fortunes in the country. We cannot do better than extract the narrative of the affair from the public records :—

"Saturday, 9th April, 1681. There being a great complaint in the Town for want of rice amongst the poor, and for want of fuel amongst the better sort, the Governor ordered the drum to be beaten about Town, that such as were in want of food or fuel should go and buy it at the neighbouring villages, and if they refused to sell or give it they might take it by force, and should not be punished for it, excepting Triplicane our own village. Hereupon the officers and soldiers being in want, got a Company of men together; and Lieutenant Richardson desired the Governor to permit them to try their fortune in the country, which he granted. The orders were that whatsoever place they went to they should first summons the people to carry fuel and provisions to town as formerly, and at present to sell them something to satisfy their hunger, or if they would not sell to give it them. If they refused all, then the soldiers might take by force what the could lay their hands upon that was food or

fuel; and if the people made any resistance they might fire or pull down their houses or otherwise offend them, as they should find necessary in the action. With these orders Lieutenant Richardson marched out about five o'clock with about fifty soldiers and fifty peons, and came to Condore about sunset, and summoned the people of the town, and declared to them his orders. To this the people answered that Lingapa had forbid them to carry anything to Chinnapatanam; and he could not persuade them to sell or give them anything, not so much as water to drink. Whereupon the Lieutenant told them that if they would observe Lingapa's order and be safe, he should have sent a force to defend them, for he was come with a force to compel them to break those orders. Thereupon after he had forborn them until after midnight, he set the men to take such things as they could find, which for the most part was geese in Verona's* house; and they pulled down the Poligar's house, who being conscious of his guilt, had fled and hid himself. That fellow is the watchman of St. Thomé, Triplicane, and Condore, and all that part of the country; and was very busy in setting his watches to stop the goods, and in abusing the poor people upon the first orders from Lingapa. With this enterprise and small booty, the Lieutenant returned with his men about five o'clock next morning.

"Sunday, 10th April, 1681. The Governor sent peons to Trivatore, Egmore, St. Thomé, and

* A relation of the Verona who was dead.

the other villages about us, declaring to the inhabitants that if they did not send in provisions and fuel as heretofore, they would suffer the same fate as Condore had done; but doing so, they might remain safe in their houses without danger. To which they all returned answer, that they would come to the Governor in a day or two, and send all sorts of things as formerly, except Lingapa sent a force to hinder them, and in such case they must not suffer from us."

It will occasion but little surprise to learn that the spirited defence offered by Mr. Streynsham Master to the intrigues of a deceitful native like Lingapa, should have excited a strong opposition to his measures in the breasts of the Directors at home. Indeed we are sorry to say that the latter exhibited a meanness of spirit, which strongly contrasts with the volunteer movement of our own times; and they were perfectly willing that their servants in this country should succumb to every petty native chief who chose to insult them, or who endeavoured to worry them into sending peiscush. Indeed the Directors continually urged upon the Agency that Fort St. George was only intended for the protection of the goods; and that the true safety of the Factory depended not upon the strength of their fortifications, but upon the firmaans and cowles they might obtain from the princes of the country. Men like Sir Edward Winter and Mr. Streynsham Master could see very plainly, what Clive and Dupleix saw sixty years later, that an exhibition of

force was necessary in all dealings with natives. Master had already experienced the moral value of making a vigorous resistance to the Mahrattas in the attack on Surat. He had felt how much the English had then gained upon the respect of the Mogul authorities, by the display of Anglo-Saxon pluck in the hour of danger. He was anxious to carry out matters with the same strong hand on the coast of Coromandel, as had already been done on the coast of Malabar. But in this policy he was systematically opposed by the Court of Directors. They attributed all the troubles which befel the Presidency to his pride and presumption; and because it was morally impossible for him to send off the ships with the usual despatch, whilst Madras was almost in a state of blockade, they had the meanness to ascribe the delay to his being so much engaged in private trade! In vain Master proudly referred to the increase in the population and revenues of the town during his administration; the Directors declared that the amount was more than counterbalanced by the increased expenditure during the troubles. In a word, just at the moment when Master seemed to be on the eve of defeating Lingapa, and of finally placing the foreign relations of the settlement upon a satisfactory footing, he was recalled by the Court of Directors; and on the 3rd June 1681 we have the announcement that the merchant ship "Bengal" from England "arrived in this road, whereon came the worshipful William Gifford to take possession of the Agency immediately upon his coming ashore, which was accordingly delivered up to him upon reading his

Majesty's Letter and the Honorable Company's Commission."

The subsequent illtreatment of Mr. Master will be noticed in the next chapter. Here we would chiefly glance at an isolated event which occurred during his administration, which is worth noting, and which will be found fully described in the following extracts from the consultations :—

"Monday, 1st October, 1680. The painters and other disaffected persons who are withdrawn out of town to St. Thomé, gathering great numbers of people together, and giving out threatenings against many people in this town if they do not join with them, after the Gentoo manner,—it is resolved and ordered to entertain about 100 Topasses or Black Portuguese into pay, the better to guard the Washers, who do as yet stick close to their business, and are the more to be encouraged by reason of their usefulness in whitening the cloth at this time, being in the height of that business.

"And the better to prevent and frustrate the evil designs of the said mutineers, it is thought fit to encourage the Painters of the Malabar Coast, by appointing them to choose two chief persons amongst them, whom the Governor will confirm and tasheriff; and hereafter, as opportunity shall offer, two chief Painters of the Gentoos also, which may prevent any such evil consequences for the future."

"Saturday, 6th November, 1680. The Painters and others gathered at St. Thomé, having sent several letters to the several castes of Gentoos in

town, and to several in the Company's service, as dubashes, merchants, washers, and others, and threatened several to murder them if they came not out to them; now they have stopped goods and provisions coming to town, throwing the cloth off of the oxen, and forbidden the people in all the towns about to carry any provisions or wood to Madraspatanam.

"Monday, 8th November. Resolved and ordered that the wives and children of the merchants, cattamaran men, and coolies, and all others that have left the town upon this mutiny of Painters, be taken out of their houses and driven into the Pagoda, as an expedient to bring the men back again.

"Resolved and ordered that a party of soldiers and peons be sent out to bring as many of the mutineers into town as they can lay hold upon, and to disperse them so that they may not make head again, or at least come not so near as St. Thomé, where they have several times abused our towns people."

These outrages continued for more than a month. At last on the 29th November, proclamation was made by beat of drum, that unless the mutineers delivered themselves up to the Governor, or to the Justices of the Choultry, within ten days,—all their houses, goods, and estate within the jurisdiction of Madraspatanam would be forfeited to the Company. Accordingly on the 7th December, we find this entry:—"Our peons brought in the chief men of the mutineers from St. Thomé, who were committed to prison; and immediately this

evening all the rest of them came into town and submitted themselves."

The only other event which is worth noting is the appearance of the celebrated Comet of 1680, known as Newton's Comet, which duly attracted the notice of the Agency. The appearance is thus recorded in the consultation book :—

"Wednesday, 22nd December, 1680. The Blasing star which in the middle of the month of November appeared about 4 in the morning, in the middle of this month (December) appeared in the evening just at the setting of the sun, and does now appear 15 Degrees above the horizon, at half an hour after six at night, the tail pointing to the north-east 65 Degrees long."

This Comet is of peculiar interest, inasmuch as it first attracted the attention of Newton to cometary astronomy; and it was with reference to it that the law of gravitation was first applied in the calculation of a Comet's orbit.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. WILLIAM GYFFORD.

### 1681—1687.

The advent of a new Governor,—"our too easy Agent Gyfford," as the Directors subsequently called him,—naturally led to something very like a revolution in the Madras Presidency. Like Mr. Master, the new Governor had enjoyed a considerable amount of commercial experience. Ten years previously he had been appointed Deputy Governor of the settlement at Bombay, and had been subsequently sent across the Bay of Bengal to open a trade at Tonquin. But he seems to have been far more easy going and subservient than Master; and he was prepared to yield to the demands of native chiefs like Lingapa, rather than offer any amount of resistance. About the time of his appointment, however, a change had come over the Directory at Home. Mr. Josiah Child had been elected Chairman to the Board; the first man in England who appeared to have formed a just conception of what ought to be the relations between the English and the Natives in this country. The sharp, arbitrary, and decisive letters, sent at this time to the different Agencies sufficiently manifest his overbearing spirit; but bitter and insulting as they were, the trade of the Company flourished greatly under his regime, and the most distant

Agencies were kept in awe. His policy may be indicated in a few words. To put down all private trade on the part of the Company's servants in any of the articles which the Company chose to reserve to itself. To put down all Interloping and Interlopers of any kind whatever. To raise such a revenue from the Native inhabitants of the Company's town, as should defray the charges of the fortifications and garrison. Lastly, to establish a strict obedience to all orders, whatever, whether as regards the trade or as regards the private administration, which might be transmitted from home.

In carrying out all these objects, excepting one, Josiah Child could not have found a better Agent than Streynsham Master. But that one was in the eye of the celebrated Chairman, the most important of them all. Master was quite ready to put down Interlopers of every description, by any means within his power, foul as well as fair. He was also perfectly ready to levy a tax from the native inhabitants of Madraspatanam. He was indeed charged with bringing the town into trouble; but, as we shall presently see, his policy, in this direction was precisely the same as that of Child, though, as it was directly opposed to the general policy of the Directors, it was found convenient at the time to bring it forward as one of the articles of charge. Again, he was accused of being implicated in private dealings, but we think he might have been forgiven, if he had been only attentive to the temper of the man with whom he had to deal. But he was disobedient to orders; and es-

pecially he resented the insulting letters of Child. He stood too much upon his own dignity, and boasted too much of his own services. In an evil hour he engaged in an unequal combat with his superior, and he fell the victim of a pride which has ruined thousands.

But notwithstanding this error,—the error of many a high and noble heart which has subsequently been broken by the keen sense of wrong,—the conduct of the Company towards the fallen Governor was disgraceful in the extreme. The natives, thinking him a ruined man, poured in their charges in thousands. He was thrown into prison until the claims against him were settled. He was literally hunted to death in a spirit which has been but too often manifested in this Presidency. His health suffered and his memory failed him. He found resistance was useless, and at last gave in, and yielded to all demands. Eight months after his recall he returned to Europe, a disgraced and to all appearance a broken hearted man.

Meantime Mr. Gyfford was endeavouring to make peace with Lingapa, and to get a new Cowle from the king of Golconda. Lingapa, seeing that the Agency was at his mercy, now attempted to thwart the English in every possible way, so as to enhance the value of the peishcush, which would have to be given to him ultimately as the price of his friendship. He protected the Interlopers, who at this time were beginning to swarm along the coast. As this matter has already been sufficiently discussed, it will be sufficient to say that some 7000 pagodas were subsequently sent to Lingapa,

on the condition that the Interlopers should be no longer protected; and that a new cowle for the district of Madraspatanam was finally obtained from the king of Golconda, at the previous rate of 1200 pagodas per annum. This event, which we have somewhat anticipated, is thus recorded in the consultations:—

"Mouday, 12th November, 1683. This afternoon at four o'clock, the Agent and Council (being attended with the Factors and Writers, the Company's merchants and two companies of soldiers) went to the Hon'ble Company's new Garden house to receive the king of Golconda's firmaun; after which, at the drinking of the king of Golconda's health, there was fired three vollies of small shot, and thirty-one great guns. When the ceremony was ended, the messenger that brought the firmaun attended upon the Agent to the Fort, where at drinking a health to Madana and Accana, the Chief Ministers of State, there was one volley more of small shot fired, and so the messenger was dismissed for the present."

The administration of Mr. Gyfford, though tolerably full of domestic interests, is somewhat wanting in connection with the general history of India. During his administration the last war broke out between the Great Mogul and the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golconda, which terminated in the final fall of these two powers; and we find some applications from Golconda for the assistance of the English against the Great Mogul. But these requests seem to have been declined or evaded, and the Agency was little disturbed by external events

until the latter part of Mr. Gyfford's government, Under these circumstances we have arranged in chronological order, some of the most interesting extracts we could find in the consultation books of this period, illustrating them when necessary by extracts from the general letters received from home. The very abruptness of some of these extracts will convey to the reader a better idea of the original records than the most elaborate introductions in the world.

"Monday, 5th June, 1682. Thomas Burrett having most impiously in his cups drank a health to the Devil, the Agent and Council have thought fit (in regard to his crime is so notorious, and of so black a dye) to order him to run the Gantlope, and to remain in prison until an opportunity of ships presents to send him away from hence to be an example, and to deter others from committing crimes so hellishly wicked."

"Thursday, 29th June. Mr. James Wheeler coming (from Madapollam) to the Fort without leave from the Agent, and it being contrary to the orders made by Mr. Master in anno 1679, it was thought fit, inasmuch as he was very penitent and sorry for his contempt of said orders, and did promise never to be guilty of the same offence again, only to give him a severe check and reprehension."

"Tuesday, 11th July. The sea having for about 10 days past encroached upon this town, and we, hoping as it is usual, that it would retreat again of itself, forbore any remedies to keep it off; but now that instead of its losing it mightily

gains ground upon us, and that without a speedy course be taken the town will run an apparent hazard of being swallowed up, for it has undermined even to the very walls, and so deep that it has eaten away below the very foundation of the town,—and the great bulwark next to the sea side, without a speedy and timely prevention, will certainly, in a day or two more, yield to its violence: it is therefore ordered forthwith that the drum be beat to call all coolies, carpenters, smiths, peons, and all other workmen, and that sufficient materials be provided, that they may work day and night to endeavour to put a stop to its fury: for without effectual means be used in such an eminent danger and exigency, the town, garrison, and our own lives, considering all the foregoing circumstances, must needs be very hazardous and insecure."

The foregoing curious account is further explained by the following extract from a General Letter from England, dated 31st May, 1683:—"We take notice of the great inundation that endangered our Town and Fort, and we would have you endeavour to prevent such future accidents by laying such a deep and strong foundation with chunam, as you mention, that may be sufficient in all human probability to prevent damage by any such accident hereafter. And in all other respects we would have you to strengthen and fortify our Fort and Town by degrees, that it may be terrible against the assault of any Indian Prince and the Dutch power of India, if we should happen to have any difference with them hereafter. But we must needs desire

you so to contrive your business (but with all gentleness) that the inhabitants may pay the full charge of all repairs and fortifications, who do live easier under our Government than under any Government in Asia, or indeed under any Government in the known part of the world. Their saying they pay customs is a frivolous objection, and relates only to their security at sea under our Passes, and under the guns of our Fort in port; but the strong fortifying of the town, etc., and the raising new works is a security to their lives, houses, wives, and children, and all that belongs to them."

We return to the consultation book.

"Monday, 17th July, 1682. The ship "Resolution" having arrived in this road, Mr. John Littleton and Mr. Slaughter Lee came ashore and brought a letter from the Captain intimating that it was the Company's order that two of the Council should repair on board ship. In compliance thereto Mr. Timothy Wilkes and Mr. John Bigrig (third and fourth members of council) went, and a small time after returning again brought with them the Honorable Company's pacquet and other letters sealed up in a bag, which were immediately opened and the Honorable Company's letter to the Fort perused; and finding in the 2d paragraph the Company's positive order concerning Mr. Bridger (second member of council), he was acquainted with it and the charge against him. To the first he quietly submitted; to the last he confessed that he did send diamonds and pearls to England, but protested it was not for the lucre of saving the 2 per cent, but for some other material reasons. But as to the

business of Interloping Alley, he avowed he was wholly innocent. The Agent and Council notwithstanding immediately ordered Mr. John Nicks and Mr. John Littleton, members of the Council, —John Willcox, Secretary,—Mr. John Stables and Mr. Henry Alford, Factors,—and the Captain of the Guard,—to go forthwith to Mr. Bridger's house, and to seal up his papers and other effects which they should find there. Which they immediately did put in execution, having put the Honorable Company's seal upon his counting house and chests, where any papers, accounts, or other valuable effects were found; which being performed they all returned to the Fort, and gave the Agent and Council an account of what they had done."

The order which led to the above arbitrary proceeding, was conveyed in a General letter, is dated London, 18th November, 1681, and bears the signature of Josiah Child. But even without the name it would be impossible to mistake the writer. The following extract will be found interesting from its reference to Mr. Master as well as to the sudden arrest of Mr. Bridger:—

"By the "Sampson" we received our late Agent Master and Council's letters of the 13th of September and 20th of December, in which he follows his old train of errors, pride and offence, which we shall not further endeavour to confute or convince him of; but leave him now at his greater leisure, freed from the temptation and incumbrance of that greatness and immensity of gains, which our bounty had confer-

red upon him, to recollect himself, and consider, whether he did well or wisely for himself, or honestly by us.

'We have seldom observed such peremptoriness, in servants, but at length we find it accompanied with infidelity, as lately in Mr. John Bridger, whom we have discovered to hold correspondence with the late Interloper Alley, and also to send over great quantities of diamonds, pearls, etc. in the ship "Sampson," unregistered, contrary not only to his trust, but the oath he took of a freeman, before his going to India; and therefore we do hereby require you upon first sight of this our order forthwith to seize all his books, papers, money, and effects that you can meet with in India, and send him and all his books and papers home to us (leaving him copies of them) by this year's shipping, and to dispose of his money and effects in the country to his best advantage, but bring the proceed of them into our cash, which shall be duly accompted to him, upon clearing of his account with us here."

To return to the constitution book.

"Wednesday, 13th September, 1682. The Agent having notice of an Interloper lying in Tuticorin Bay, immediately sent for the Council to consult about it; the result of which was to send two persons thither forthwith to see who it might be, with orders if it should prove an Interloper to impede and obstruct him in all ways possible. In order to which there was a letter sent of this date to the Chief and Council of the Dutch there, cautioning them not to be assisting to them; and

that it would be to their prejudice if they did. Likewise ordered them to go on board and read his Majesty's proclamation to them, and to entice his men away if he should prove refractory, and so disable him by that means. Upon which account it was ordered that pagodas 500 be sent with them, to be distributed amongst those that should comply, with farther promises of greater preferment if they would come to the Fort and serve there." From a subsequent entry we learn that before the arrival of the Company's officers, the Interloper had set sail for Bengal.

The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Child to Mr. Gyfford, dated "London, 9th October, 1682," will throw some light upon the progress our ancestors were making in the matter of costume in the reign of Charles II :—

"You will find in a list of goods one article for shifts of all sorts, which I would have you look upon as a matter of great concernment to the company ; being the only way I know to introduce the using of calico for that purpose in all these northern parts of the world ; and therefore I most earnestly recommend to you to provide 200,000 shifts ready made of the strongest sorts of calicoes, some finer and some coarser, and be sending them as fast as you can.

"Let some of the coarser sort, for seamen's and ordinary people's use, be of strong blue cloth ; and some white for the like ordinary use ; others white middling, for citizens and middle sorts of people ; and some fine enough for ladies and gentlewomen. If some be wrought on the breasts, and on the sleeves, and in the collar with needle-

work, the price here will sufficiently pay for the work and cost there, where labour and art are so cheap. Take special care that the sewing be very good, and all the cloth strong in its kind, as well fine as coarse."

The following curious incidents we shall extract from the consultation books. They refer in the first place to the establishment of the Madras Bank, an institution which was in reality started in the reign of Charles II; though it is popularly referred to the governorship of Lord William Bentinck in the first decade of the present century. Next follows the proceedings that were taken to prevent the exportation of slaves from this Presidency; and after that, we find an account of the establishment of a Court of Admiralty, in the place of the High Court of Judicature established in the governorship of Mr. Streynsham Master. But we leave the extracts to tell their own story.

"Thursday, 21st June, 1683.- The Honorable Company having sent us a Law with reference to the Natives, as also an Order for the raising of a Bank of money to the value of one hundred thousand pounds sterling at six per cent, it is ordered that the first be translated into Portuguese, Gentoo, Malabar, and Moores, and proclaimed solemnly by beat of drum, and afterwards set upon the Gates; as also our declaration for the weighing of what monies shall be brought in upon the latter, to be likewise translated into the above languages, and also set upon the Gates, a copy whereof is as followeth:—

"By the Honorable East India Company's

order, we, the Agent and Council of Fort Saint George, do hereby publicly declare unto all persons whatever, that we will at any time take up and receive what sums of money soever shall be brought to us, at six per cent per annum Interest, for six or twelve months time, or any other longer term of years, but not less than six months, nor to exceed the time we shall agree for; and we shall for the better security of such persons that shall so let out their money, give our receipt for the same under the Hon'ble Company's seal."

"Monday, 18th September, 1683. There being great number of slaves yearly exported from this place, to the great grievance of many persons whose children are very commonly privately stolen away from them, by those who are constant traders in this way, the Agent and Council considering the scandal that might accrue to the Government, and the great loss that many parents may undergo by such actions, have ordered that no more slaves be sent off the shore again."

"Monday, 13th November, 1683. An Order in English, Portuguese, Gentoo, and Malabar, for the preventing the transportation of this country people by sea and making them slaves in other countries, was read and past and ordered to be hung up in four public places of this town. The contents are as followeth:—

"Whereas formerly there hath been an ill custom in this place of shipping off this country people, and making them slaves in other strange countries. We, therefore, the present Governor and Council of Fort St. George, have taken the same

into our serious consideration, and do hereby order that, for the future, no such thing be done by any person whatsoever, resident in this place. And we do hereby also strictly command all our officers by the water side, whether they be English, Portuguese, or Gentoos, to do their utmost endeavours to prevent the same; or else suffer such punishment, either in body or goods, as we shall think fit to inflict upon them. And if any person, being an inhabitant of this Town of Madraspatanam, shall hereafter presume clandestinely to do anything contrary to this our order, by shipping such slaves of this country, and it be proved against him,—he shall pay for every slave so shipped off or sent away, fifty pagodas, to be recovered of him in the Choultry of Madraspatanam; one-third for the use of the Honourable East India Company, one-third to the poor, and one-third to the informer."

"Thursday, 10th July, 1684. The Honorable Company having advised us in their General Letter, dated the 14th of August, 1683, that a Judge Advocate should soon be sent hither for the hearing and determining of all suits and causes under this Government, with the assistance of two merchants, and also sent us a copy of his Majesty's new charter ordering the said proceedings, which occasioned the silencing our former Court of Judicature, and has given great dissatisfaction to the creating many disturbances and complaints for justice, to the discredit and disgust of our Government; and though the Honorable Company have in that General appointed their President to supply the place of Judge Advocate till he shall

arrive; yet having no directions for those proceedings, and being unacquainted with the methods thereof, it is thought and agreed to be of absolute necessity to the peace, justice, security, and honour of this Government, that the old Court of Judication be organized, and that causes be heard and decided there by Jurors as formerly, by the authority of the first charter, till the Judge Advocate shall arrive, or we prohibit further proceedings therein." Subsequently a Judge Advocate was sent out, and a Court of Admiralty was established. This new Court superseded the Court previously held in the Chapel, in which the Governor acted as Judge, and twelve jurymen were sworn in. The principal object of this new Court was the summary punishment of Interlopers.

The next important event in the history of the Presidency, was the attempt made to levy a house tax which should serve to defray the expences of the fortifications and charges of the garrison. Mr. Streynsham Master had actually succeeded in levying some such a tax; and this very circumstance formed the ground of one of the charges which the natives preferred against him on the arrival of Mr. Gyfford. The new Governor had accordingly remitted the tax; but was subsequently compelled, much against his inclination, to levy one in its place. As early as the 20th September, 1682, Mr. Josiah Child had written to the Agency as follows:—

"Our meaning as to the revenue of the town is that one way or another, by Dutch, Portuguese, or Indian methods, it should be brought to defray

at least the whole constant charge of the place, which is essential to all governments in the world. People protected ought in all parts of the universe, in some way or other, to defray the charge of their protection, and preservation from wrong and violence. The manner of raising which revenue we shall leave to your discretion, as may be most agreeable to the humour of that people."

This order was frequently repeated, and the results will be found described in the following extracts from the consultation books:—

"Thursday, 14th August, 1684. We have also consulted several ways for the improving the revenues of this town, and contributing to the charge of walls, etc,; necessary buildings for the conveniency and security of the inhabitants. Upon which we have agreed to propose levying of a small tax amongst them to be paid monthly, which if they so oppose, as formerly, that we cannot be successful therein, then to offer it as a voluntary contribution to all the inhabitants in this Town, both English, Portuguese, Moors, and Gentoos, which possibly may have a better effect upon their wilful tempers; but first to press and receive the 500 pagodas per annum, which was three years past promised by the several castes of the Gentoos towards the charges of the garrison."

"Thursday, 21st August, 1684. The several heads of the castes of the town inhabitants were sent for to mind them of their promised supply towards the charges of the garrison, who sent us word this not being a good day, they desired we would excuse their coming till to-morrow."

On the following Monday the promised interview took place. The heads of the castes pleaded that they had lived in Madraspatanam near forty years free from such impositions, and moreover that they had constantly paid customs. They were told however that if they could not obey the Company's law, they had liberty to sell their houses and remove where they pleased. At last after much persuasion they agreed to pay annually nine fanams for every great house, six fanams for every small house, and three fanams for every little round house." The degree of success which attended this arrangement will appear in our next chapter.

The following event is perhaps the most interesting which can be found in the records of this period. On the 6th February, 1685, Charles II had passed away to his fathers, and James II was proclaimed king. The news reached Madras in tolerable speed for those days; for six months after the death of the king, we find the following graphic description of the proclamation of his successor in the consultation books of Fort St. George.

"Thursday, 13th August, 1685. No Consultation. This morning our dread sovereign king James the Second was proclaimed with this following solemnity.

"The whole Council, with the Commanders of Ships, and the rest of the Right Honorable Company's servants and English Gentlemen inhabitants of the city, came to attend the President at the Garden house, in a handsome equipage on horseback. After that came Peddy Naik with his peons, and the chief merchants, with great number

of the inhabitants of the Gentoo town, all in arms, bringing with them also elephants, kettle drums, and all the country music. From thence we set forward with this numerous Company of people through the Gentoo town, the houses and streets being adorned all the way. Peddy Naik's peons, the chief merchants, and Gentoo inhabitants went first; elephants carrying our flags, the kettle drums and music playing before them. After that went 12 English trumpets with silk banners, and 6 hautboys, all in red coats, playing by turns all the way. Mr. Coventry (Clerk of our Court) on horseback, bare headed and with his sword drawn, carried the proclamation in his hand open. Then the President and Council, and the rest of the English gentlemen went in due order. The troop was commanded and led by the President, Mr. Thomas Lucas, Cornet; and the rear was brought up by Mr. Elihu Yale. And when we came to enter the garrison at the Choultry Gate, (one of the chief entrances into the city), there was in readiness three complete companies of soldiers, and all the principal Portuguese, to receive the President and Council, and other English gentlemen, who marched before them to the Fort Gate, Sea Gate, and back to the Choultry Gate, (three of the principal places of the city); at all which places the proclamation was read by Mr. Coventry, all persons being uncovered and their swords drawn. The proclamation ended with great shouts and joyful acclamations, crying "God bless king James Second", and at every place of reading there was a volley of small shot, the trumpets sounding, and hautboys playing. Which

done, the President, etc. returned in the same order to the Garden house, the great guns both of the Fort and Town firing all the way; and after that all the Europe and country ships did the like. And soon after the President, etc., were returned, the Persian and Siam ambassadors, with great state and a numerous retinue, came to congratulate our solemnity, and to bring their good wishes for his Majesty's prosperous reign; who after some small stay, being handsomely saluted and treated according to their quality with a banquet, music, and dancing, they took leave and departed to their houses with great satisfaction. And then a general invitation being made, we drank his Majesty's health and long and happy reign; and at night there was bonfires and fireworks, wherewith this solemnity ended."

With this event we close the present article. It was our original intention to give a history of the administration of one Governor in a single issue; but as we proceed the matter grows upon us, and we now find it necessary to separate the accounts of Mr. Gyfford into two parts, of which we hope to present our readers with the second portion in our next chapter.

## CHAPTER VII.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. WILLIAM GYFFORD.

*(Concluded.)*

### 1681—1687.

The concluding years of Mr. Gyfford's administration are marked, not only by events of domestic interest, but by incidents which find a place in the annals of India. Before however reviewing these last particulars, it will be advisable to complete the series of extracts commenced in our last issue, so far as they illustrate the internal history of the settlement in Madraspatanam.

Our first extract will exhibit the Government mode of treating those civil servants of the Agency, who chose to deviate from the paths of morality and good manners.

"Thursday, 2nd April, 1685. Whereas it hath been sufficiently testified to us, the President and Council of Fort St. George, that Thomas Child, Company's Factor, hath been guilty of most excessive drinking, swearing, cursing, and divers other disorders and contempt of government, so that we esteem him not fit for any Christian or civil society; and when also upon examination we find that himself and Charles Carr, another Factor, have impudently reflected very dishonorably and scandalously upon the President and others:—We do agree and think it very convenient, not only not to admit either of them to go of Council for Priaman (in Sumatra), as was intended them, but that both

of them be confined to their chambers; and that they shall have nothing given them to eat or drink but boiled rice and water, according to the rules in such cases established; and that none shall be suffered to come near them, to supply them with other provision, or to be corrupted by the vile conversation of Thomas Child, or encouraged by either of them to the like contempt of their superiors; and this punishment we have thought fit to inflict upon them shall continue till we shall perceive a sensible repentance in them, and that they do make a public acknowledgment of their offences, and beg forgiveness of the persons they have so maliciously and wrongfully abused, with unfeigned engagements never to commit the like, that we may restore them to their former privileges and give them the employment we designed for them, or such other as we may find them capable of, or esteem them to deserve. And this our order is to be set up in the Hall or Dining Room in the Fort, and a copy thereof given to each of the said offending persons, to the intent that themselves and all others in the Right Honorable Company's service may know the cause and justness of their punishment."

"Saturday, 11th April. Received a Petition from Thomas Child and Charles Carr, the contents as followeth.

"*To the Honourable* WILLIAM GYFFORD, *Esq., President and Governor of Fort St. George.*

May it please your Honour. Whereas your Petitioners whose names are underwritten, being

sensible of the many enormities which have been committed against your Honour, etc., and out of a deep sense of our crimes, we humbly implore your goodness, that you would vouchsafe to pardon and pass by these heinous crimes, confessing and very well knowing your acts are very equitable and just in confining us to our chambers, nay merciful too, the least of which we do not in the least deserve; but having intelligence that your Honour intends a public paper, to be set up in the Hall, which will certainly tend to the utter destruction of your poor Petitioners; our humble request is, that your Honour will condescend so far, as not to expose your said poor Petitioners to public view, which paper (though justly) must inevitably do; wherefore we humbly beseech you that your Honour will recall your order for setting up the said paper, and permit us to come in your presence, and humbly acknowledge ourselves offenders as in the said paper is inserted against us.

Your humble Petitioners

THOMAS CHILD, CHARLES CARR."

We learn from a subsequent date that this Petition was favourably considered.

The following curious incident which occurred at Ennore, with reference to a sloop bound from Madras to Sumatra, will interest our local antiquarians.

"Sunday, 10th May, 1685. Received this morning a letter from William Dixon, Master of the sloop "James" from Ennore, dated this day, advising that he was forced to put in there, the sloop being so leaky, that they pumped every glass.

Upon which the President and Council ordered the Secretary to write him answer to his letter, and order him to ride as near Ennore Bar as he could, that they would send two Mussula's to unlade the coals, and that then he should carry her into that River, and when that was done he should receive further orders.

"Wednesday, 20th May, 1685. This morning William Dixon, Master of sloop "James," arrived here from Ennore, who gives an account that the sloop was got into with that River, that all her stores and coals were landed, and that upon firing of a gun, the powder that was under the cabin abaft, took fire, and blow up her deck. Two Englishmen were killed and several Lascars wounded, but how the accident happened is not known, the two men that are dead being the only persons about the powder."

Seven months afterwards, namely on the 4th January 1685-6, this sloop was still in Ennore River, as we learn from the following entry of that date:—"Notwithstanding we have so often endeavoured to get the sloop "James" out of the Ennore River, we have not been able to do it for want of water upon the Bar, occasioned by reason of dry weather."

The following Petition from Dr. Heathfield, dated 20th May, 1685, will throw some light on the prospects of the Company's Surgeons in the olden time.

"*To the Honble President &c., and Council.*

May it please your Honour and Council, it was

in the year 1673 that I was taken prisoner by the Dutch, with the ship President, at which time I underwent many hardships, besides the total loss of what it had pleased God to bestow upon me, by my endeavours in five years before in the Hon'ble Company's Service; and after my confinement I was then received into the Hon'ble Company's service again as Surgeon at Mechlepatam and Madapollam; and after seven year's service there, was called up to this place (Madras) where I have served as Surgeon upwards of four years: my experience in this time, and observations I have made upon the Honorable Company's affairs, I humbly conceive have rendered me capable of serving them in another station, which I am desirous of, in hopes of future preferment, and knowing that it has been the custom of your Honour, etc., and other nations to alter the employment of their servants. I therefore humbly beseech your Honour, etc, to receive me as a Factor, and to give me what employment you shall think suitable for me; wherein I will behave and deport myself with that fidelity, care, and diligence, that my future services shall approve themselves not unworthy of this your great favour and kindness; and as I am in duty bound to be a faithful servant to my Honorable Masters, so I lie under no less obligation to yourselves as my benefactors, than of approving myself with all gratitude and thankfulness.

Hon'ble, etc.

Your most humble and obedient servant,

JOHN HEATHFIELD."

We cannot discover whether the prayer of this petition was granted or rejected.

Our next extract will serve to further illustrate the relations between the Agency at Fort St. George, and the Native chiefs. The story of Lingapa will enable the reader to form some conception of the position of the English in this country, under the sovereignty of Golconda; the following story of Gopall Pundit will throw a light upon the ordinary mode of proceeding, when a distinguished Native paid a personal visit to Fort St. George.

"Tuesday, 15th September, 1685. Gopall Pundit being come to St. Thomé, acquainted the President with it, and desired that he might give him a visit privately that night; so it was thought convenient that Mr. Lucas (third member of council) go to him to St. Thomé, and Mr. Yale (second member of council) to meet him at Triplicane, to bring him to the Garden house.

"Thursday, 17th September. Gopall Pundit having rested himself yesterday, sent a message this morning that he desired to see the Fort, and to be received publicly there this afternoon. Which was accordingly done with as much honour and respect to him as we could, according to his quality, where after some time being spent in viewing the city from the top of the fort house, firing great guns, and the like, he desired to have some discourse with the President and Council: so they retired for that purpose, the sum of which was chiefly his magnifying his great services done the Company, and how great

a friend he was to them, to the intent, we believe, to cause us to make him some considerable gratuity, or to lend him money. But on the other hand, the President and Council endeavoured to lessen that value he set upon himself, in regard they endeavoured to make it appear that once it lay in his power to have done much more in reference to a better settlement at Cuddalore, and told him (he being now going to Court) if he could there use his interest, and procure liberty for the Right Honorable Company to build a fortification at Cuddalore or Porto Novo on the place that the President and Council should choose for the conveniency of their business, that they would consider him, but for lending him any money, they absolutely denied it, it being attended with so many inconveniences.

"Friday, 18th September. This morning Gopall Pundit sent Sancrogee (his chief confident) to the President to acquaint him that he would use his endeavours to obtain what was recommended to him yesterday; and desired the President to write a short letter to Haja Raja, referring him to what Gopall Pundit had to say to him from us.

"Monday, 21st September. Gopall Pundit having been at a great charge in coming hither with such a numerous retinue, and in consideration of our new settlement at Cuddalore, that we may engage him (in part at present) to continue his friendship, to obtain some more and better privileges there, than we have as yet,—It is ordered that he with his attendants be Tasherift as followeth.

To Gopall Pundit in private,—gold chains to the value of pagodas 150.

Do. in public,—6 yards scarlet, 1 telescope, 1 fowling piece, 1 pair of pistols, some flint ware and toys, 4 pair of spectacles, a chest of rosewater, and some sandal-wood.

To Gopall Pundit's brother Vittlepa in private,—pagodas 20 in gold chains.

Do. in public,—3 yards scarlet.

To Sancrogee in private,—pagodas 20 in gold chains.

Do. in public,—3 yards broad cloth ordinary.

To Gopall Pundit's kinsman,—2 yards scarlet.

To 3 captains, 3 havildars, 3 mussumdars,—each 3 yards broad cloth ordinary.

To the Maldars, etc.,—pagodas 14.

To servants,—3 pieces beteelaes."

The mode in which the agency acted in the case of any of its servants dying, and leaving widows and families behind them, may be gathered from the following entry.

"Monday, 21st December, 1685. Mr. Edward Fowle, late Engineer of this place, having been sent to the West Coast of Sumatra, to give directions about the building of a Fortification, and being very diligent therein, as per the advice we received from thence, and dying at Bencoolen, —It is agreed and ordered that what wages is due to him be paid to his widow, as also that a gratuity of twenty pagodas be given her, in consideration of the great loss she hath

had in his death, and the poor condition he hath left her and her family in. Also Teggapa, the Right Honorable Company's Chief Dubash here, having been very serviceable in the new Settlement on the said West Coast, and dying in his return hither;—It is ordered that his son be allowed four pagodas per month for the maintenance of the family, and to be employed at the sea side; and that ten pagodas be given to the widow as a gratuity for her husband's good service."

The next event we have to record is one of peculiar interest. We have already referred to the attempt made in 1684 to levy such a tax from every house in Madraspatanam, as should defray the charges of the fortifications and garrison. The matter however was delayed from time to time; Mr. Gyfford shrinking from making the levy, whilst Mr. Josiah Child, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, became more and more angry at the delay, and more and more bitter and peremptory in his orders. At last the Agency felt compelled to act, and the event abundantly proved that firmness and decision were alone required to render the experiment successful. Indeed it is plain that Mr. Child understood the Native character far better than Mr. Gyfford. He saw that the inhabitants of Madraspatanam were flourishing under British protection, and that they were bound to pay for that protection. But the following extracts will tell the whole story.

"Sunday, 3rd January, 1686. In pursuance of the Right Honorable Company's positive orders to us of the 16th of March, 1684, for the raising

a contribution upon the several houses in this Town, in consideration of the great charge of maintaining, repairing, and fortifying this garrison, for the defence and security of them, their families, and estates ;—Mr John Littleton was appointed to collect the same by all moderate ways and fair means possible, that they may not be discontented, or any disturbance arise thereby. Notwithstanding this, and the oft repeated reasons and arguments with them for the ready and quiet payment thereof, they did this morning, in contempt of the Government and our orders, tumultuously and mutinously combine together, commanding the several castes to desist from their labour, and service to us ; also forbidding and hindering the shops to be opened and grain to be brought into Town ; insolently declaring that they would continue their rebellion, till they were freed from the said present and all future taxes. Whereupon soldiers were drawn out to secure all the passes of the outer Town, and other places, to suppress the tumult ; and as great inconveniences and dangers may succeed from their violent proceedings, it is also agreed and ordered, that the Choultry Drum be beaten about the Town, with this Proclamation :—

" That if the heads or chiefs of the several castes of the inhabitants do not come in and submit themselves before this day's sunset to the President and Council, begging pardon for their great crime of insurrection against the Government, and disobedience to the late just orders for a small contribution towards the necessary fortifying, and bearing part of the great charge of maintaining

this garrison, that their several dwelling houses be to-morrow pulled down and the ground sold at the Choultry, and them and their families for ever be banished the town.

"Also that all persons in the Right Honorable Company's service, or belonging thereto, do immediately repair to their several charges and business; otherwise to be put out of their employments, and never more to be entertained in the Right Honorable Company's service.

"And that if the Chetty Bazaar people do not immediately open their shops and sell their grain, etc. as usually, that the goods and commodities in their several shops be confiscated to the Right Hon'ble Company, and moreover be fined ten pagodas each for their mutinous crimes; and in case of any disobedience to this our merciful invitation and indemnity, it is then agreed that the President in Council do personally to-morrow see the aforesaid orders strictly executed."

This Sunday was remarkable in other respects. The proclamation of James II against Interlopers was read in St. Mary's Church, which coming so close after the Christmas sermon on peace and good will to all men, must have been highly edifying to the audience. In the evening we are told that "the heads of the several castes came in and acknowledged their great crime and desired to be heard to-morrow by the President and Council; so with a severe check were dismissed to their several houses, and advised and ordered to suppress the present tumult they had raised."

"Monday, 4th January. This morning the

heads of the several Castes appeared before the President and Council, to be heard according to their desire; and after begging pardon for the great crime they had committed in raising such a mutiny, delivered in their Petition, translate whereof is as follows.

"*To the Hon'ble Governor and Council.*

"The inhabitants of this town declare, that it is now forty years and upwards, from the foundation of this Fort, and that they were invited to people and increase the town upon the word and favour of the English, under whom they have till now lived, receiving many honours and favours without paying any tribute or rent. Only in the time of the past Governor Mr. Master, who imposed a tax upon arrack, and upon paddy, and causing us to pay for cleansing the streets,* also increasing the

* The following extract from the consultation books during the Governorship of Streynsham Master, will explain the nature of this municipal assessment. The entry is dated 13th July, 1678:—

"The Governor having proposed a way for keeping the Towne cleane after the manner in England, by taxing every house at a moderate rate and to appoint a Scavenger to collect said moneys and therewith to hire cooleys to carry away the dirt and filth, which in this as in all other townes in these countrys lyes in the streets very offensively, the principall persons with many others of the Gentu towne came this day to the Governor, requesting that there might not be taken a particular list or roll of all the houses in the Towne, they offering rather then soe, to make a collection among themselves upon each cast or sect, as they have used to doe for some other generall expences upon their festivalls. Whereupon the Governor asked them

Choultry customs of goods imported and exported; also the rents of the fields of paddy, and ordered that double custom should be received of tobacco which came from other places, and because the owners could not pay said custom, they carried their tobacco to St. Thomé, by which means the Choultry hath been hindered of the customs formerly paid. Also the close siege this Town suffered, which upon your Honour's arrival was taken off, whereby this Town was newly revived from death to life, hoping that your

why they approved not of the way he proposed; to which they answeared that the Devan or the Mogull and Braminy Governors of the country for the King, might come to know the great number of houses and familys, that is in this Towne, and thereupon might raise new impositions upon them and create trouble to the Towne; but the matter being more nearly enquired into, it seems they were afraid that if such a roll were taken, it would be a ready way to lay a tax upon the Towne for the building and repairing the outwalls or any other new imposition never yet imposed upon them; and thereupon 'twas urged to them, why all the Towne ought not to bear an equal share in repairing those slight mud walls as well as those poor people only that lived next to the walls; to which they could answear no further than that it has never yet been required of them for these 40 years, and the Company has thriven well and were better able to bear it themselves now than ever, therefore hoped 'twould not be imposed upon them now; and for clearing the streets they would take care to doe it among themselves without further trouble to us: Whereupon the Governor referred them to Verona to consider further of this affaire.

"By this it may be observed, how jealous this people are of being imposed upon by new customes."

Honour would have relieved us from all tributes and rents; but instead thereof we find you go about to impose and increase other new tributes upon our houses, which can in no wise be, nor ought your Honour to do it. Wherefore we beg your Honour for the sake of the most high God, and in the name of the most serene king of England and of the Hon'ble Company, that you will free this Town from so heavy a yoke, as is this tax laid upon our houses, seeing we are a poor people, and live upon our labour and trouble; this Town having the fame, and is called place of Charity, and we shall live confident in your favours and assistances, and the whole Town lightened by your goodness, as they hope from Honour.

"Signed by the heads of the several Castes underwritten, viz. chuliars, painters, tailors, husbandmen, cooks, washers, barbers, pariahs, comities, oilmakers, fruiterers, shepherds, potmakers, muckwas, patanava, tinga, cavaree, nugabunds, pally, goldsmiths, chitties, weavers.

"Upon perusal of said Petition, the President and Council told them, that it did not lie in their power totally to excuse them from contributing towards the charges of this Garrison, in regard it was the Right Honorable Company's positive orders, they commanding to have the Black Town walled round at the charge of the Inhabitants; and there was no remedy but that they must be conformable thereunto, it being a very small matter, only three fanams a year for a small house, six fanams for a middle size house, and nine

fanams for a great house, which could be no burthen to them. But they continued very obstinate, and declared themselves unwilling and unable to pay, for reasons given in their Petition; and further that it would breed a custom, and they feared it would be increased hereafter. But it was still replied it must be done, and they as positive on the other hand refused, offering two of their heads, if that would satisfy, to excuse them from this tribute and heavy yoke, as they call it. After which they were one by one asked whether they would leave the town, make war upon us, or submit to our orders and government; to which they every one answered they would submit, but on a sudden all at once denied what they had said, and that they would not pay do what we would to them: which forced us to cause the drum to beat, and declare our resolution to some of the chiefs that we had kept (others being run away), that we would execute our orders declared to them yesterday by beat of drum. Which when they perceived us so much in earnest, at last submitted, promising to be obedient to our government, and that they would take off the prohibition laid upon their people and our provisions, and that all things should be at peace and quiet. So they were dismissed, and after awhile, the shops were accordingly opened, provisions brought in, and the washermen, muckwas, catamaran-men, coolies, and servants returned to their several businesses; and now it only remains that they be obedient in paying their contributions."

Notwithstanding however these patriotic hopes

expressed in the consultation book, Mr. Gyfford's subsequent letters home could not have been very satisfactory to the Directors. Unfortunately no copies of the general letters to England have been preserved amongst the Madras records of an earlier date than 1692; but the following sharp orders, extracted from the general letters from England and evidently from the pen of Mr. Josiah Child, abundantly show that the great chairman was very much dissatisfied with Mr. Gyfford's conduct in the matter.

On the 9th June, 1686, he writes as follows:—"This pro and con between us and you, which was begun by Sir William Langhorne, ended with Mr. Master, is now revived on the subject, will never end well. Pray let us have no more of it... A revenue we will have aliquo modo for that infinite charge we have been at to raise that Town (which hereafter we shall call a city) from so despicable a condition as it was in when we settled there. . . . With your leave we will have a ground or quit rent yearly for every house within your precinct, and a small poll money for every head, as the Dutch have at Batavia."

Again on the 6th June, 1687, he writes as follows:—"We do hereby order and ordain as a law in our city of Madras (which we require you to publish with the usual solemnity) all persons, owners or occupiers of any houses or lands within our precinct, that shall neglect or refuse, for three months after publication, to bring in the arrear of their respective quit rent imposed upon them, such shall for ever hereafter stand charged, and pay to the Com-

pany, double the quit rent formerly imposed upon them."

We now turn to an event which is interesting as being one of the earliest recorded attempts at mutiny in this Presidency. A short time previously the company had established a settlement at Priaman on the west coast of Sumatra; a place that proved so fearfully unhealthy, that most of the merchants and factors died, and the locality was regarded with horror. At this time however an expedition against Bengal, which we shall have occasion to describe hereafter, was in preparation, and the Portuguese soldiers in Fort Saint George were ordered on the service. But we leave the consultation book to tell its own story.

"Wednesday, 4th August, 1686. The several companies of this garrison being in their arms, the Portuguese soldiers appointed for the Bay of Bengal, being asked whether they were willing to serve the Hon'ble Company in that expedition, did one and all refuse to go, upon pretence that we would send them to the West Coast (of Sumatra), though the President assured them to the contrary. So they had their arms taken from them, and being of such a dangerous consequence, a Gallows was caused to be erected before the Fort Gate, resolving to hang two or three of the ringleaders to terrify the rest to their duty, having now the power of martial law; and when they perceived our intentions, they submitted to proceed upon the voyage; so had their arms returned to them, though we can expect no very hearty service from such backward pitiful fellows; and it is resolved, as soon as Eng-

lish soldiers can be provided sufficient for the garrison, that all Topasses be disbanded, and no more entertained, since there is so little dependence upon them."

The following little proceeding as regards our first possession of St Thomé, is very suggestive.

"Thursday, 19th August, 1686. Whereas the Right Honorable Company have ordered the renting of St. Thomé from the Divan, and we have thought it not convenient to rent it in the name of the Right Honorable Company because the Rent would thereby be enhanced,—we have desired Chinna Venkatadry and Allinga Pillay to rent the said Town of St. Thomé in their own names, and do promise to allow them all the charges which they may expend for procuring a firmaun for the said Town, and to save them harmless from whatever loss may accrue unto them by the rents of said Town; provided the said Chinna Venkatadry and Allinga Pillay, do from time to time give us an account of their charges, as the same is expended, and of the rents as the same are received, and that the profits accruing thereby be to the use of Right Honorable Company."

The following extracts are of very great value. They fully explain the police arrangements in the native town of Madraspatanam in the very earliest times. We have alre dy explained that whilst the settlement was first made about 1640, no records have been preserved in this Presidency prior to 1670. The intervening period we filled up as well as we could by means of the abstracts of general letters preser ed in Bruce's "Annals;"

but even they furnish no record of a governor earlier than Sir Edward Winter. From the following entries however we observe a reference to a Sir Thomas Chamber, who appears to have been governor about 1659, and thus to have immediately preceded Sir Edward Winter. Moreover we obtain from them a glimpse of Madraspatanam when it could have been little more than a rude assemblage of bamboo huts, and when twenty peons were sufficient to watch over the interests of the inhabitants. These entries originated in certain charges of neglect of duty which were brought against Padda Naik and his peons, in other words against the police establishment of Madraspatanam, in the year 1686, and which led to a reference to the original cowle granted for the maintenance of the force. But the extracts will tell the whole story.

"Monday, 3rd November, 1686. Whereas divers of the Inhabitants of this Town, have made their complaints to us, that they have been great sufferers by the many robberies that have been committed of late; and forasmuch as it hath been made appear to us that the Pedda Naik and his Talliars (who should take care, for the yearly revenue they receive for the same, that no such thing be done, or else make satisfaction) have concealed some of the stolen goods, and imprisoned one of the thieves for fear he should make a discovery of others among themselves, and that the said Talliars do make it their constant practice to receive half the stolen goods and let the thieves escape with the rest:—we the President and Coun-

cil do therefore unanimously agree and resolve, that the said Pedda Naik shall make due satisfaction to every person for whatsoever losses they can justly make appear to have sustained by robbery, either in the inward on outward Town, now or hereafter; which is also agreeable to the contents of his Cowle given him by Sir Thomas Chamber the 22nd June 1659."

It appears from the Cowle, which is printed at full length on the page following the above entry, that in a very early period of the history of Madraspatanam, Pedda Naik had guarded the town with twenty peons. Subsequently, when the town had greatly increased in size Pedda Naik had given up the office on the ground that the number of peons was insufficient for the duty, and that the maintenance granted him was also insufficient. Accordingly eighteen paddy fields were granted to Pedda Naik duty free, together with a variety of petty customs on paddy, fish, oil, betel nut, pepper, and other similar articles; and he in return engaged to guard the town with fifty peons, under the following arrangement, which we shall describe in the words of the Cowle granted by Sir Thomas, Chamber.

"Also that the 50 peons aforesaid, shall be employed about the Town, as he that hath the charge of the Choultry shall think fitting. And if any man shall be delivered by us into your custody, and shall make his escape, that you shall pay the debt the person escaped owed. Also that if we (the President) should go abroad at any time to take our pleasure, you shall procure 150 or

200 peons to accompany us. And if occasion shall require 150 or 200 peons, your Timmapa with the said peons shall go upon what employment we shall send him, and also allow them 4 days catty; but if we should detain them onger then we are to give them catty.* Also if any house is robbed, that you shall make satisfaction for what is lost. And if any merchant or inhabitant of this Town shall run away, and any of your people having knowledge thereof shall conceal it, that then you are to bring that party run away again, and correct him that knew of his departure. This being the Cowle given you by us you being peaceably and quietly to take your duties aforesaid, and to do the Company what service you are able. Dated in Madraspatanam, the 22nd June 1659.

THOMAS CHAMBER."

The result of the present complaints appears to have been that the Pedda Naik agreed to make good all real losses.

Before proceeding farther with the extracts it will be necessary to glance at the general history of India. Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul reigning at Delhi, had been compelled by an Afghan war and a religious insurrection to suspend his military operations in the Dekkan. Meantime Sevajee, the great Mahratta, had pursued his conquests in Southern India, and, as we have already seen, passed within a few miles of Madras during the governor-

* Catty, or more literally "Kuttoo," is a Tamil word signifying "batta."

ship of Streynsham Master; but he was shortly afterwards cut off in the midst of his career in the fifty-third year of his age. Sevajee was succeeded by his son Sambajee; but the latter was idle and debauched, and possessed but little of the ambition of his great father.

It was under these circumstances, that in 1683, Aurungzebe moved the whole force of the Mogul army into the Dekhan, with the intent of subjugating Bijapore, Golconda, and the Mahrattas. The story of that long campaign would prove of little interest to the general reader. Sambajee woke up from his life of sensuality, and harassed the Moguls in every possible way. In 1686 the kingdom of Golconda was well nigh overthrown by Prince Moazzim, the eldest son of Aurungzebe. Moazzim drew near the capital and was joined by the greater part of the army of Golconda. The Brahmin minister Madna Pant was murdered in a tumult. The king Abul Hassan fled from his capital of Hyderabad to the neighbouring hill fort of Golconda, which had given its name to the whole kingdom. For three successive days Hyderabad was plundered by the troops of Moazzim. Aurungzebe however thought proper to grant a peace to Abul Hassan, upon payment of a large contribution.

Aurungzebe is supposed to have come to terms with Abul Hassan, simply to prevent his son Moazzim from being regarded as the conqueror of Golconda. In 1686 he took Bijapore in person, and destroyed that monarchy. In 1687 he again attacked Golconda, and in September,

after an obstinate siege of seven months, he captured the fort and took Abul Hassan prisoner. In 1689 Sambajee was drinking in a favorite pleasure house, when he too was taken prisoner by an officer of Aurungzebe, and sent in triumph to the imperial head quarters. Some of the Omrahs suggested that the life of the Mahratta sovereign should be spared, in order to induce the Mahratta chiefs to surrender their forts. Aurungzebe was willing to save him on this condition; but Sambajee had now awakened to a sense of his degradation, and courted a death which would wipe away his shame. In this temper Sambajee employed every epithet of abuse to induce some rash soldier to kill him. Aurungzebe sent a message offering him his life on condition of his becoming a Mussulman. "Tell the emperor," cried Sambajee, "that if he will give me his daughter I will become a Mussulman;" and he then gave a keener edge to this insulting offer by pouring out a torrent of invectives upon the prophet of Islam. Aurungzebe was exasperated to the highest degree. He ordered a red hot iron to be drawn across the eyes of Sambajee, his tongue to be cut out, and his head to be severed from his body. The terrible sentence was carried out in the camp bazaar, in August, 1689.

The effect of these events upon the Agency at Fort St. George might be fully gathered from the general letters sent home by the Agency, which, as we have already said, are wanting amongst the Madras Records. Some idea however may be obtained from the notices which appear in the

general letters from home, as well as in the Madras consultation books. In a general letter, dated 22nd March, 1687, and evidently penned by Josiah Child, we meet with the following remarks:—

"We know the King of Golconda is rich enough to pay for any assistance you give him, either in diamonds or pagodas; and therefore we intend to be at no charge for his assistance against the Mogul, but what he shall pay us for beforehand, or put diamonds into your hands for the security of our payment, both principal and interest."

Again in another letter dated 6th June, 1687, we find the following:—

"'For the King of Golconda's writing to you, you may acquaint him in a decent and friendly manner, that we are none of his subjects; wherein we would have you be guided by the old Proverb, "suaviter in modo fortiter in re." But if nevertheless he pretend to any dominion over your city, you may, when you are in a good condition, tell him in plain terms that we own him for our good friend, ally, and confederate, and sovereign and lord paramount of all that country, excepting the small territory belonging to Madras, of which we claim the sovereignty, and will maintain and defend against all persons, and govern by our own laws, without any appeal to any prince or potentate whatsoever, except our Sovereign Lord the king, paying unto him the king of Golconda, our agreed tribute of 1200 pagodas per annum. And if ever he break with you upon these terms, we require you to defend yourselves by arms, and from that time renounce paying him any more tribute.

It being strange to us that while he is oppressed by the Mogul on one hand, and by a poor handful of Dutchmen on the other, you should make yourselves so timorous and fearful of asserting our own king's just right and prerogative to that important place."

The nature of the information previously furnished to the Court of Directors may be gathered from the following entry in the consultation book.

"Tuesday, 15th February, 1687. Upon advice from Mr. James Paiva at the Mines, that the Mogul was lately in a short time to take Golconda, and consequently be master of this king's dominions, and that the French and Dutch had made their applications to him with great presents to settle their affairs in this country:—it was taken into consideration what we should do in behalf of the Right Hon'ble Company, and agreed (in regard of our present hostility against his subjects in Bengal)* that we should only write him a plausible letter of complaint of government injuries to us in Bengal; and that, upon consideration of our difference there, we would not make our applications as the French and Dutch had done; otherwise

* The allusion in the foregoing extract to hostilities against the Mogul's subjects in Bengal, refers to an expedition which was ordered about this time against the Mogul governor of Bengal, in consequence of his tyrannical and oppressive conduct towards the English settlements on the Hooghly. This expedition was sent out during the government of Mr. Gyfford; but its results belong more properly to the annals of his successor Mr. Elihu Hale. We therefore reserve the story until our next chapter.

that our respects were as ready and great as theirs; but desire him to hear our Vakeel concerning our grievances (which have been the occasion of our differences), to redress the same, and to confirm the Right Honorable Company's ancient privileges in Bengal. It is likewise thought convenient to write to his Nabob, to desire his friendship, and to favour us with the delivery of our said letter to the Mogul; and to write to our Vakeel at the camp, sending him said letters to deliver, with copies for his perusal, and directing him to show the Nabob what we write to the Mogul, and that he be sure to represent our case to his Majesty, and make haste to procure a good and lasting firmaun."

"Monday, 22nd February. Taking into our serious consideration the great danger we may be in, in case the Mogul should take Golconda, which in all appearance at present he is likely to do,—we think it absolutely necessary to make all manner of provision for our defence, in regard of our present hostility with him and his subjects, and therefore it is ordered that the persons in their several places do proceed and take care of the particulars here undermentioned:—

"*Mr. Warell's charge is viz.*

"To build up the Caldera Point with Battlements that the men may stand by the Guns.

"To make haste to finish the new Platforms formerly ordered to be built at the Sea side and River side, and for the present to get all materials ready.

"To take care that all the Sallyports at the River side between the round Point at Caldera Point, be secured with double Doors, Iron Bars, Bolts, and Locks; that

all the inlets to the Town between said Point be made up with Brick, and all the void places built up; and that all Buildings, Rubbish, and what else may be prejudicial that lies round the wall of the Christian Town and in the River, be cleared away.

"That Stores of Brick, Iron Stone, and Chenam, be in a readiness to make up any breaches, and put in the Hog yard, or any other convenient place, within the Walled Town.

"That the Smiths, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Coolies, Muckwaes, and what other workmen or under workmen may be useful to this garrison upon a Siege, have notice given them at such time, as we shall think convenient, to be in readiness upon occasion, and that such persons shall have provisions provided for them.

"To order Pork, Beef, and Fish to be salted, and put up in Jars and Cask, as also Eggs or anything else that may be thought of to keep, as much as can be procured till further order, and to be put up with such care that they may be preserved.

"To be laying in of what wood can be got by degrees, as also Salt, and make Biscuit.

"To order Iron Stone or Red Wood to be laid upon the top of the Fort Walls, to fling down upon the Ladders if they should attempt to scale, and some forks to lie ready to thrust off the ladders.

*Mr. Cheney's charge is viz.*

"To remove the Powder from the Powder house to the Godowns under the curtain next St. Thomé (or some other convenient place) and brick them up for the more safety, and some powder to be put in the Round Point, in a place that's built for that purpose.

"To get what great Jars he can to put wheat in, and Chenam them up, and set them round the Fort Curtain.

"To make what Powder he can with all expedition.

"To give in an accompt of what stores of Powder, shot great and small, match, etc., ammunition or provision for war (in any kind) we have in readiness; and

to fit up the Granado Shells and Mortar Peices, and to make a trial of them beforehand.

"To take care that all the Small Arms be fitted, and constantly looked after, and cleaned.

"To take care that what Stores of Grain we have, or shall be brought in upon this occasion, be put into fitting Granaries within the Walls, to preserve it; and that it be brought into the air and often shifted; and Mr. Fraser, or who else he, Mr. Cheney, shall choose, is appointed to assist him in this.

"To buy Provender for the Horses.

*Doctor Wilmot and Doctor Plummer's charge is vizt.*

"To provide and make salves for wounds, and to be as sparing of the small surgery box on the Rebecca as they can, that we may not want upon great occasion."

A week afterwards we find the following entry.

"Monday, 28th February. It being of so great concern to be continually mindful to provide for the defence of this Garrison against the Mogul's forces, which we have great reason to fear will come upon us, after he has taken Golconda, therefore we have thought convenient, and order that the persons hereunder named, have further in charge as followeth.

*Mr. Wavell's charge is vizt.*

"To build a small Point to command the Bridge, and that part of the Town, and the two blank sides of the Caldera Point, large enough to plant six Guns, or eight if there shall be occasion.

"To build a large Tank in some convenient place, within the walled Town, for a store of fresh water, which will be much wanted in case of a siege, all the wells in the Christian Town being brackish.

*"Mr. Cheney's charge is vizt.*

"To put so many great guns upon the Point at the Garden as convenient for ten or fifteen men, and lay in

such provisions and ammunition in the lower room, as shall be hereafter upon occasion thought necessary.

"To put six or eight great guns into the new Point, that is to be built for the security of the Bridge, etc. with ammunition for them.

"To fill the new Tank that is ordered to be built, with the best fresh water, and besides to provide and fill what Cask and Jars he can get.

"To make ten Field carriages and fit guns to them.

"To put two or three great guns in the Powder house.'

"It is thought convenient for the safety of this Garrison, securing the Right Honorable Company's estate, and annoying of the enemy in case they should besiege this place, that two or three ships do from this time ride in this Road; and there being none of the Right Honorable Company's ships here, nor any expected (till some may arrive from England) that can be spared upon this design, in regard that they are to go down into the Bay, or already are upon other expeditions:—It is ordered to hire any good serviceable country vessels that may offer, to that number; and that Mr. Cheney do send Men, Guns, Ammunition, and Provisions, or what else may be thought convenient for service, aboard them, on the Right Honorable Company's account."

"Monday, 7th March. Taking into consideration the absolute necessity of having the letters from Bengal delivered to the Mogul (which were sent back by our peons from Mr. Paiva at the mines near Golconda, the 27th of last month, they not finding the Vakeel in the camp) that he, the Mogul, might rightly be informed of our grievances

in the Bay, in particular the occasion of the last skirmish :—It is agreed to take advice of Senor Manuche, an Italian doctor inhabitant of this Town, who was formerly in the Mogul's service, which is as follows.

" That we send them (the letters) by a servant of his (the doctor's), that is well acquainted with the Mogul's camp, accompanied by four Rajpoots, to deliver them to two Englishmen there, viz. Thomas and Richard Goodlad ; to the intent that when they observe the Mogul's coming forth, they may hold up said letters, so as to be seen by him, which, he says, the Mogul will receive from the hands of strangers, which otherwise is delivered to some great men to peruse before they come to him, which might prevent the Mogul's having an account of the true contents thereof, which is usual when it is a complaint against any of their friends or great men : and that a small present of oil of cinnamon, oil of mace, and some other rarities be sent to the Englishmen, to give as they shall see occasion : and that the Mogul may have an account of the wrongs and dangers that the Right Hon'ble Company have sustained in the Bay."

The siege of Golconda by the Mogul army lasted seven months, and the place was not finally captured by Aurungzebe until the month of September. All this time great fears were entertained at Fort St. George, that the Mogul would revenge himself upon Madraspatanam for the hostilities which had taken place in Bengal. On the 16th June, we find the following entry in the consulta-

tion book :—"It being much to be feared that the King of Golconda cannot hold out long, and that when the Mogul comes to have the possession of the country we have great reason to believe that he will endeavour to revenge himself upon us, as he threatens, there being war declared in Bengal by us, and (as we hear) on their side also."

But before the termination of the siege the administration of Mr. Gyfford was closed, and Mr. Elihu Yale, the first Member of Council, was appointed governor in his room. The following extracts tell their own tale, and close our history of the governorship of Mr. Gyfford.

Saturday, 23rd July, 1687. This evening late the Box of Letters, etc., from the Right Honorable Company per the "Williamson" was brought on shore, and deferred till Monday to be perused.

"Monday, 25th July. The General Letters and Commission from the Right Hon'ble Company were perused, and the President finding by said Commission that Elihu Yale, Esq., was constituted President, and President Gyfford's Commission revoked, he delivered up his charge, which with President Gyfford's best wishes for all good success and prosperity to the Right Hon'ble Company's affairs, under the management of the new President concludes this Consultation Book."*

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* The records of each Governor spread over several volumes of Consultation Books, but a new Book is always opened with the advent of a new Governor.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE.

## 1687—1692.

The latter years of the Governorship of Mr. Gyfford, and the early years in Mr. Yale's administration, are marked by circumstances which belong more to the general history of India than to the domestic annals of the Madras Presidency. These circumstances may be indicated in the briefest possible manner. In 1686 Mr. Josiah Child sent out secret instructions, that the English should retaliate upon the Mogul for the injuries they had received in Bengal. The war was fully approved both by the Court of Directors and the reigning sovereign James II. An expedition was sent out with orders to seize Chittagong, and then to march upon Dacca; and further reinforcements were to be supplied by the Presidencies in India. Unfortunately hostilities were commenced before the whole of the forces reached Bengal. The Native troops were defeated, but the Subahdar seized the Factory at Patna; and the English retired to Chutanuttee, or Calcutta, until some arrangement could be made, and a firmaun be obtained from the Mogul. Subsequently the attempt was made to seize Chittagong, but failed. These hostilities, combined with the fact that the Mogul was personally engaged in the conquest of Golconda, ren-

dered the position of the Agency at Fort St. George, one of extreme peril; of which abundant illustrations may be found in the records.

The first incident worthy of notice in the administration of Mr. Yale, is an attempt made by the Portuguese to re-settle at St. Thomé, contrary to the interest of the Agency. We subjoin the original entry.

"Tuesday, 26th July, 1687. The Right Honorable Company having in their former General letter to us of the 14th January, 1685, positively ordered the renting of St. Thomé town from the Divan, but being satisfied it would raise many scruples and difficulties in them, or at least enhance the rent, if we appeared in it, or treated about it ourselves, or in the Right Honorable Company's name:—It was therefore then thought most prudent and convenient, that Chinna Vencatadry undertook the business in his own name, as formerly he and Verona had done, which would make less discourse and noise; and accordingly the President and Council gave him an order under their hands for the same, which, as he tells us, he has ever since been treating about, but that the late and present wars and troubles in the country had thus long obstructed and delayed the conclusion. Meantime, some of our Portuguese inhabitants, since our demanding taxes and advance of customs, have privately negociated this matter by one of their Padres at Golconda, who procured them a firmaun for their re-settlement and trade in the country; and since that, and the news of the Mogul's success against Golconda,

with the probability of his coming or sending thither, and our danger thereby,—they have privately, basely, and ungratefully sneaked away to St. Thomé, and there been treating with the Seer Lascar, etc. to take a Lease of St. Thomé Government, and there to fortify and hoist their Flag, which they thought themselves so secure of that they had advanced their standard. When the President, sending away to the Brahmin Governor of these parts about it, and so mind him of his promise thereof to Chinna Vencatadry, with a promise of a gratuity, their grandeur was immediately stopped, and their Flag Staff lowered and we hear since greatly discouraged, which we hope will continue to their return hither with shame and sorrow for their vain expense.

"It is therefore agreed and ordered that Chinna Vencatadry do so prosecute the business as to disappoint them, though we pay something more for it than they offer, which we doubt not in time to recover from them. Besides it is of such absolute necessity to rent that town, as well for preventing the diminishing our trade and customs, as also our force; five parts of our soldiers being Portuguese topasses, who if they should settle at St. Thomé would certainly run thither from us in our necessity."

"Thursday, 4th August, Chinna Vencatadry being returned from Conjeveram, brought the Brahmin Governor's final resolution about the renting of St. Thomé, which was, that he would let it to Chinna Vencatadry for three years, that is the Town, Customs, and adjacent Towns and

Paddy grounds belonging thereto, at the rate of Pagodas 4000 per annum, to be paid at three payments, each four months, one-third part of the rent as customary in this country; also to pay one thousand Pagodas upon receipt of the Cowle from the Seer Lascar, as a peiscush to the Brahmin Governor for his kindness therein. Nothing was to be abated thereof and if we did not presently comply therewith, that he would conclude with and let it to the Portuguese. In consideration whereof, and the many prejudices it may do this city, under those ill circumstances we are at present; and being informed by Chinna Vencatadry that the Town Customs, etc., were let last year at Pagodas 4,100, and that the crop and revenues this year rather promised profit than loss:—it is agreed and ordered that Chinna Vencatadry do rent the same according to the aforesaid terms, in his own name for the Right Honorable Company's account, and not to exceed anything if the Governor should play his usual tricks; as he has already done with the Portuguese, who already have given him Pagodas 500; and that no peiscush be given him, till the Seer Lascar's cowle be delivered to us."

From a subsequent entry, dated 23rd August, 1688, we learn that the Portuguese still held out, but that Mr. Yale had obtained a Cowle on agreeing to pay 3800 Pagodas yearly. "Notwithstanding," we are told, "the many difficulties we have had about the renting of St. Thomé, the President has by private correspondence procured a Cowle for renting the Town and Customs of St. Thomé

and the adjacent countries as far as St. Thomas's Mount; notwithstanding the Portuguese huffs and noise of the Mogul's firmaun for their free enjoyment of the town, which has cost them by their envoy priest at least 7000 Pagodas to the Mogul's officers; and it is now reported their mighty firmaun proves only a compliment referring them to former customs in the King of Golconda's time, and to agree with the Government of St. Thomé as well as they can." The Cowle however was obtained in the name of Chinna Vencatadry, both in consequence of the hostilities with the Mogul and his aversion for the English, and especially "that we might not too much exasperate the Portuguese in their loss and disappointment of a place they retain a most superstitious veneration for, which possibly might provoke them to mutiny or rebellion, or at least some disturbance or mischief; they being at present two-thirds of our soldiers, and at least six for one to the English inhabitants."

The next extract refers to the old practice amongst the members of the Agency, of all dining together in the dining room of the Fort. It would appear that the previous President Mr. Gyfford preferred living at the Government Garden House, which had been erected outside the old Fort, and not far from the site of Munro's statue. The Directors however complained of the expense of keeping two tables; but we give the original entry.

"Friday, 29th July, 1687. The Right Honorable Company in their General Letter, having

complained of their great charge in keeping two tables, which was chiefly occasioned by. President Gyfford's indisposition, the Fort being always unhealthful to him, necessitated his living at the Garden, which he found to agree with him much better. And though the Council do suppose and believe that the Right Honorable the Company do still retain a good esteem and respect for him and his services, yet in obedience to their Honour's orders we cannot presume to continue that charge; and President Gyfford desiring to excuse his coming to the Fort, and to continue at the Garden during his short stay in India,—it is thought fit and ordered to be allowed him Pagodas 25 per month for his diet while here, with a suitable number of Peons and other servants."

This year 1687, was distinguished by an extraordinary monsoon, which is thus described.

"Sunday, 9th October 1687. The monsoon breaking up sooner this year than is expected or usual, there happened great damage to the ships and vessels in these roads. It began on Tuesday, the 4th instant, when there ran a great sea and surf all day, and in the afternoon a flurry of wind and rain. On Wednesday, the same great sea and surf continued, with a flurry of wind and rain in the forenoon. On Thursday, the wind blew ships were driven from their anchors, and some were forced on shore. (Particulars of ships omitted.) On Friday, a very great storm of wind and rain all day. Saturday, the wind blowing very hard last night forced the "Loyal Adventure" and "Borneo Merchant" from their

anchors; the former being found this morning broke to peices at St. Thomas's Point, the latter a little to the southward. During the fierceness of this storm, the winds continued between east and north east, which brought the sea very near the bulwark and wall; but this morning the wind and sea abating, we hope the danger is past.

"Ordered that a strict watch and guard be continued to be kept at the sea-side to prevent embezzling anything, that may be driven ashore; also that ten peons be sent along the coast to Pulicat and ten to Covelong, and inquire all the way for goods driven ashore; and if find any to secure them for the Right Honorable Company, and give us present advice thereof, lest the Country Governments seize them as forfeitures."

The following extract, referring to the number of peons assigned to each official, will explain itself.

"Saturday, 29th October, 1687. There having been some discourse about settling attendance of peons to the Council, which is agreed and ordered as followeth. To the Governor 20 peons; to the second 6 peons; to the Judge 5 peons and 2 talliars; to the Warehousekeeper 4 peons; to the Chief Justice and Customer 3 peons and 2 talliars; the rest of the Council 2 peons 1 talliar each; to be constantly at their disposal, except some extraordinary occasion requires them to other service."

In September of this year, the Fort of Golconda was taken by Aurungzebe, and in October, the

news reached Fort St. George, as appears from the following entries.

"Saturday, 29th October, 1687. Having received a letter from Potty Khan, Commissioned by the Mogul to be Soubadar of this part of the country, and Governor of Chingleput Fort as formerly, who advises us that the Mogul has certainly taken Golconda Castle, and the king prisoner; and that all the considerable Forts and Towns in this country have already admitted the Mogul's colours and government, the Towns of Pulicat and St. Thomé our nearest neighbours having also submitted thereto; he also intimating to us the ceremony and solemnity that was generally performed at the news of the conquest, implicitly desiring and expecting the same from us; which being a matter of no great weight or charge, and may oblige them, and the neglect do us a prejudice:—It is agreed and ordered that the servant that brought the letter be tasherift with perpetuanos, and that 15 guns be fired at the delivery of the President's letter to them, and 20 marcalls of paddy given among the poor, in respect to their customs in such cases."

"Saturday, 7th January, 1688. This evening the Right Honorable Company's Chief Merchant acquainted the President that one of the Mogul's life guards, sent down into these parts to receive his rents, desired to wait upon him to-morrow; but doubting he might be too prying and inquisitive of the garrison, the President excused his coming then, as being Sunday, and desired it may be at nine this night. Three other Members of

Council were sent for and were present at his coming, when after a long discourse of the Court and Government, he declared the occasion of his coming was, that he had received about a lakh of Rupees and 6000 Pagodas for the Mogul's account, and had left it at Poonamallee; but in regard Sevajee's flying army was foraging those parts, and robbing and plundering, desired our assistance, supply him with 300 horse, 500 soldiers and 500 peons to guard it as far as Kistna River; which he pressed hard, and that it would be most acceptable to the King to serve him in his danger. But the Governor considering the unreasonableness and dangerous consequence of undertaking such a charge, or intermeddling with things of that nature, returned him for answer, that we should be always ready to serve the Mogul, but that he well knew Sevajees's forces, and that he had lately taken three Forts and a hundred Towns very near us, and done many other mischiefs in the country, and that this place was also threatened by him, and that he was within twenty-four hours of us: therefore we could not spare our forces from our guard. Besides that, three or four hundred horse would signify little to Sevajee's three or four thousand in the field, though we feared not ten times so many here; but there it would run the King's money and our people into great danger. Thereupon desired him (the Mogul's life guard) to consider well of it. Whereupon he desired permission to bring it into Town; but hearing of our war in Bengal he requested that the President

would give him his word and hand that he and his treasure should be safe, and have liberty to carry it away when he thought convenient. Which being agreed to by all, he was told by the President that, the Town was free to all persons, and that no prejudice should be done to him by the English, but that they should fare as we did, and that he might choose what place he pleased to reside in; desiring him to send no more people than necessary, and those to be sober and civil. Whereupon he was dismissed with rosewater and betel, and seemed pleased with the discourse and the entertainment."

"Friday, 13th January. Letters last night advise that Sevajee's forces had plundered Conjeveram, killed about 500 men, destroying the Town, and put the inhabitants to flight, dispersing themselves about the country, and many of them run hither; and about twelve this day came a letter from Chingleput advising the Governor that they had certain news from the Mahratta camp, that they had drawn out a party of about 2000 horse and 5000 foot under the command of a General, to assault this place, giving them encouragement that the plunder should be their own. Upon which advice the Governor and Council ordered that the Portuguese and Gentoos should be summoned to their arms; one man from each family that had two therein, and two from each family that had six hard with rain most part of the day, and many therein, from 15 to 60 years of age. Copy of said summons is as followeth.

"By the Governor and Council, these are to give notice and summons all persons whatever, inhabi-

tants of or dwellers in this city of Madras, to send one man in arms from each house or family that have two men therein, betwixt the ages of fifteen and sixty years, and all families that have six men to send out two with arms. The Portuguese to meet before their Church, and the Gentoos at the Town Choultry, by four of the clock to-morrow evening, being the 14th instant; where they shall be commanded and disposed to such guards and watches, as shall be judged most necessary. The default of any person herein to be punished or fined at the pleasure of the Governor and Council. Dated in Fort St. George, the thirteenth day of January, one thousand six hundred eighty and eight.

The following extract is interesting for reasons which will be presently explained.

"Thursday 26th Jany. 1688. The Council did not meet this day, the President's only son dying last night, was interred this morning to their great grief and sorrow."

This is but an every day incident; a little boy, an only son, carried away to the great grief and sorrow of his desolate parents. But this small event possesses an interest still. On the north wall of the mausoleum on the Light House esplanade, may still be seen the granite slab, which was set up in memory of the only son, nearly two centuries ago. We copy the inscription.

"Hic jacet DAVID
Filius Honorabilis ELIHU YALE
Presidentis et Gubernatoris Castelli
St. Georgii et Civitatis Madrassae natus
Fuit 15 May 1684 et obiit 25 January Anno 168½.

For the sake of our lady readers we append a translation.

"Here lies DAVID
Son of the Honorable ELIHU YALE
President and Governor of Fort
St. George and the city of Madras
Born 15 May 1684 and died 25 January in the year 168¾."

On the south wall of the same mausoleum is a slab in memory of Mr. Joseph Hynmers, who had been a member of Council during the governorships of Sir William Langhorne and Mr. Streynsham Master.

The following circumstance does not speak much for Madras Society in the old times.

"Thursday, 8th March, 1688. Mrs. Francis, wife to the late Lieutenant Francis killed at Hoogly by the Moors, being sent hither from Bengal very poor, she made it her petition that she might keep a Punch house for her maintenance. But she being a notorious bad woman, it is agreed that she be not permitted to keep a public house, lest it be the occasion of many debaucheries and disorders; she having lived very scandalously formerly here. It is therefore ordered that she go on the "Royal James" to the West Coast, and that according to the Right Honorable Company's order, she be allowed something out of the proceeds of the prizes, to provide her necessaries, in consideration of the loss of her husband in the late unhappy Bengal expedition." From a subsequent entry we learn that this lady was afterwards sent home to prevent "further scandal in our city."

The following extracts indicate the great danger the Agency was in about this time.

"Monday, 16th April, 1688. Captain Freeman is ordered to summon his Company of Train Bands to a general training upon the Island opposite to the Fort, on Wednesday next being Easter Week; and that the chief of the Moors and Gentoo inhabitants be invited to dine with the Governor and Council there, and that a handsome preparation be made for it accordingly, this being the first general appearance and will make a great report in the country."

"Sunday, 6th May, 1688. Letters from Mr. Chardin at Golconda to the Governor, of April last, give the following account. That the Mogul would free his son Shah Allum from his long confinement, but the Prince generously refused it except he would also enlarge Abul Hassan, the king of Golconda, because he (the Prince) was instrumentally the ruin of the king; having formerly engaged his word that neither the Mogul nor he, should ever come with power to trouble him; and that he would rather choose to lose his life, than break his faith and word with the king of Golconda, which was confirmed by his faith. That Sevajee's troops, joined with Siddee Masson's, are within six leagues of Golconda, burning and destroying all before them, they expect them there in a little time. That Nabob Rowalloo Khan had sent his jewels and treasure into the castle, and he and his family are on the following thereof. That there are no soldiers in the Fort (of Golconda), nor provisions fit

to withstand an enemy, so that if the enemy comes, he may with great facility take the Fort. That the Dutch and French are much in the Mahratta's favour, and all roads are full of robbers. That the King of Persia marcheth in person with a great army after Sultan Akbar, to give him help, in case the 60,000 horsemen he hath already sent be not sufficient; and sworn upon his beard that he will set him upon the Indostan throne."*

This year the Union Jack was ordered to be hoisted at Fort St. George; and the following is the official account of the ceremony.

"Tuesday, 12th June, 1688. According to appointment for the solemnity of hoisting his Majesty's Flag in this Garrison, the Governor made this evening a handsome collation upon the Fort House Terrace, where he was accompanied with the Council, and chief of the Right Hon'ble Company's servants, and most of the eminent freemen and inhabitants of the city of all nations and casts; the Garrison three Companies being in arms, also the Trained Band consisting of near 100 Englishmen, commanded by Captain Robert Freeman and Lieutenant John Affloeck; when after an orderly march round the Fort, the Garrison soldiers drew round within the Fort and the Trained Bands without; when upon hoisting the Union Flag upon the Standard on the English bastion, the Go-

* This extract would prove useful to the general historian. Elphinstone merely records that Akbar, the revolted son of Aurungzebe, had taken refuge first in the Court of Sambajee the Mahratta, and afterwards in Persia, and that he died at the latter place in 1706.

vernor began a glass of Toby to our gracious King's health and Royal Family's, and his happy long reign; which was duly performed by all there, and honoured with three vollies of small shot, and as many cheerful huzzas from all the soldiers; and by thirty one pieces of ordnance, which was answered by all the ships in the Roads; also one and twenty pieces of ordnance with hearty wishes of success and prosperity to our Right Honorable Masters the Right Honorable East India Company, and nineteen pieces to their Honorable Governor Sir Josiah Child; and the more to honour this occasion there was several persons freed and generous contributions to the poor; and the soldiers as merry as Punch could make them, till night silenced all in repose."

The following account of an exchange of visits between members of the Dutch Government at Pulicat, and members of the Council of Fort St. George, will be found very interesting.

Monday, 16th July, 1688. Being advised from Pulicat of the arrival of the Heer Van Readen, Commissary General for the Dutch East India Company, with an unlimited power for the settlement of their affairs in these parts, and being also in place equal to the General of Batavia; and it being customary upon all alteration of Governors either here or at Pulicat, to send two of Council to welcome and congratulate them to the place, to preserve a fair and friendly correspondence, with them; but this person being in an extraordinary employ and authority, it is thought requisite and accordingly ordered that three of our Council be

sent with a letter from the Governor to compliment him at Pulicat, viz., Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, Mr. Robert Freeman, and Mr. Thomas Wavell."

According to this decision the three gentlemen started for Pulicat on the following Monday evening, and returned to Fort St. George on Wednesday morning; and the next day being Council day, they gave the following account of their journey to Pulicat and entertainment there.

"That on Tuesday the 24th instant, about seven of the clock in the morning, arriving at a Garden near Pulicat, they sent the Commissary General word that they were coming to wait on him; on which he desired their longer stay there, that he might send some of his people to conduct them to town. About ten of the clock came six of the Council, also many attendants with them, to meet them there; and after a welcome salute were conducted to the Fort Gate, where they were received by the Vice Commissary; and thence through a guard of soldiers passed to the stairs foot, where they were received by the Governor Pitt, and so conveyed up to the Commissary, who kindly received them, and, after the delivery of the President's Letter, welcomed them with twenty-one guns. Some time after went to dinner and were handsomely treated, and, as it was always customary, began the King of England's health with twenty-one guns, and then the Parliament's, the Right Honorable Company's, and the Presidents. About nine they parted with the same salute of guns as they had when they came

in. During the whole time they were courteously treated and entertained, the Commissary General often expressing his kind resentment of our visit and respects, promising suddenly to return it, assuring them of his readiness to serve the Honorable Company's interest in all places he had an opportunity for it.

The very next day the visit was returned, and the Dutch visitors were duly entertained at Fort St. George. But we extract the account from the consultation book.

"Thursday, 28th July. This morning about seven o'clock, the Herr Commander Johannes Bacherus, successor to the Commissary General, sent the President word by the Chief Dubash, that he was come to the Garden to acknowledge and repay his late visit and civility to the Commissary General. Upon which the President appointed Mr. John Biggs, Mr. John Littleton, Mr. R. Freeman, and Mr. Thomas Wavell with a handsome retinue to meet and bring them into the City and Fort; where Mr. Higginson met them at the Gate, and so led them up stairs to the President then at the stair head. After the delivery of the Dutch Commissary General's letter, and his message (being return of thanks for the late visit at Pulicat), they were kindly welcomed with twenty-one guns. After some time and discourse of the Commissary his proceedings, and other public affairs, went up to a handsome dinner in the Consultation Room, where the usual healths, to equal their entertainment, were began to the Prince of Orange with twenty-one guns, the States Gene-

ral, Dutch East India Company, and the Commissary's. After dinner about three o'clock the President, the more to oblige and divert them, carried them by boat to the Hon'ble Company's new Garden, where they were also handsomely entertained. After supper about ten o'clock the President delivered him his Letter of thanks to the Commissary General, and acknowledging the honour and kindness he was pleased to do him, with thanks also to their several troubles of the journey, excusing the slenderness of their entertainment; which they acknowledged to be very generous and kind, appearing greatly satisfied thereat, requesting leave to return to the place from whence they came. They parted with kind salutes, accompanied to the Garden by Mr. Littleton, Mr. Wavell, and Mr. Robert Freeman."

The following entries illustrative of the slave trade formerly carried on in this Presidency, will tell their own story. We have deemed it advisable to place them together, as they possess an interest by themselves.

"Monday, 1st August, 1687. The trade in slaves growing great from this Port, by reason of the great plenty of poor, by the sore famine, and their cheapness,—it is ordered for the future that each slave sent off this shore pay one Pagoda custom to the Right Honorable Company, and that the Justices do receive no more for the usual fee for registering and passport, than two fanams a head till the Council shall think fit to alter it as formerly."

In the same month we find the following entry

concerning the black slave of an English Captain who had died in the Madras Roads :—" Captain Richard Warner having by his last will and testament given his black slave Francis Carwar aged about 14 years, his freedom, the present commander is ordered to discharge him the ship, and permit him to stay ashore."

" Thursday, 29th September, 1687. We do now order that Mr. Fraser (who being Land Customer has the best opportunity for it), do buy forty young sound slaves for the Right Honorable Company, and dispose them to the several Mussulaes, two or three in each, in charge of the Chief man of the Boat, to be fed and taught by them, and to encourage their care therein, it is ordered a short red broad cloth coat be given to each Chief man ; and that the Right Honorable Company's mark be embroidered with silk on their backs, with the number of their rank and the boat, which are also to be so numbered, whereby we shall have them at better command, our business go more currently on, and easier thereby discover their thieveries."

" Thursday, 2nd February, 1688. In consideration of the several inconveniences that have happened by the exportation of children stolen from their parents, to prevent which for the future, —it is ordered that no slaves shall be shipped off or transported, except such who are first examined by the Justices of the Choultry, and their several names registered in a book for that purpose ; for which the Justices are to receive two fanams for each slave. And whosoever shall offend against this same rule, and shall be convicted of stealing

people, are to pay for the first fault five Pagodas, and for the next to lose their ears in the pillory. And this order shall be fixed upon the several gates and in the Choultry."

"Monday, 14th May, 1688. The custom by the exportation of slaves here, being now of little advantage to the Right Hon'ble Company by their scarcity, and it having brought upon us great complaints and troubles from the country government, for the loss of their children and servants spirited and stolen from them, which being likely to increase, by the new government of the Mogul's who are very averse, and prohibit all such trade in his dominions, and has lately expressed his displeasure therein against the Dutch for their exporting of slaves from Metchlepatam. To prevent which prejudice and mischiefs for the future, and we having received a late letter from the Seer Lascar about it,—it is agreed and ordered that, after the 20th instant, no person inhabitant of this place, either Christian or other, do directly or indirectly buy or transport slaves from this place or any adjacent Port (whereby the Government may be any ways troubled or prejudiced) upon the penalty of fifty Pagodas for each slave bought and transported against this our order. But in consideration that several persons in town have formerly bought slaves which still remain by them, by reason of their sickness or want of opportunity to transport them:—It is agreed that they be permitted to ship off such slaves, provided they give a list of them to the Justices of the Choultry, and produce them publicly there, to be duly examined and registered. And

the better to prevent any demands upon them hereafter, the Justices are ordered to proclaim the same by beat of Drum; that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, and that all may come and make their demands for children and slaves stolen, and upon due proof, they be delivered to them free of charge."

# CHAPTER IX.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE.

*(Continued.)*

## 1687—1692.

The great domestic event in the Governorship of Mr. Elihu Yale, was the institution of a Mayor and Corporation. The political significance of the municipality has hitherto been but dimly apprehended. Mill, the most philosophic of all the historians of India, passes it over as a matter of slight importance; whilst his commentator H. H. Wilson offers no remark upon it whatever. The originator of the scheme was Mr. Josiah Child, the great Governor of the Board of Directors. The genius of this man is stamped upon the records of the time. Here and there we alight upon passages from his pen, so pregnant with political wisdom, that we frequently regret that our task is confined to unfolding the domestic annals of the Madras Presidency, rather than to reviewing the whole history of British India. In confirmation of our judgment, and before describing the origin of the Madras Corporation, we will extract the following remarks from a General letter dated 28th September, 1687, which have reference to the appointment of Mr. Nathaniel Higginson to be second in Council, and which are as

applicable now as they were nearly two centuries ago.

"Let none of you think much or grudge at the speedy advancement of Mr. Higginson. We do not do it out of any partiality to him, for he has no relation here to speak for him, nor ever had the ambition to think of such a thing himself; neither have we done it out of any ill feeling or disrespect to any others now being of our Council, but sincerely as we apprehend for the public good; knowing him to be a man of learning, and competently well read in ancient histories of the Greeks and Latins, which, with a good stock of natural parts, only can render a man fit for Government and Political Science, martial prudence, and other requisites for ruling over a great city. This, we say, with some experience of the world and knowledge of the laws and customs of nations, can alone qualify men for such a Government, and for treaties of peace or war, or commerce with foreign Princes. It is not being bred a boy in India, or studying long there and speaking the language, understanding critically the trade of the place, that is sufficient to fit a man for such a command as the second of Fort St. George is, or may be in time; though all these qualifications are very good in their kind, and essentially necessary to the well carrying on of the trade; and little science was not necessary formerly, when we were in the state of mere trading merchants. But the case is altered from that, since his Majesty has been pleased, by his Royal Charters and during his Royal will and pleasure,

to form us into the condition of a Sovereign State in India, that we may offend, or defend ourselves, and punish all that injure us in India as the Dutch do.)

"The great trouble we labour under is, that you cannot get out of your old forms, and your cavilling way of writing, or perverting or misconstruing, procrastinating or neglecting our plain and direct orders to you; as if you were not a subordinate but a co-ordinate power with us; which has and will (till you conform to our known minds and intentions) forced us to make more changes in your Council than anything else could have induced us to; of which we hope we shall have no more hereafter, but that your well understanding and performance of our orders will cause us to change the style of our letters to you, as we hoped to have done before this, for which we more earnestly desire a fit occasion than you can yourselves."

The man that wrote these pregnant sentences may have had a hard heart, and an ungovernable temper, but we say emphatically, that his head was the head of a statesman. His reproofs were sharp, but they were the dictates of genius, and not the impertinence of a mere official.

But to proceed with our main subject. The idea of a municipal government was not directly borrowed from English institutions, as many might suppose. It was originally taken from the Dutch governments in the east; and the object Child had in view was to bring the Dutch form of government into conformity with the English tradi-

tionary idea. But we shall leave Mr. Child to explain his plan in his own words; so that our readers may be able to admire the clear headed practical way in which the wise old merchant of Leadenhall Street explained his views to the Agency at Fort St. George. The directions are given at length in the same General Letter already quoted of the 28th of September, 1687.

"We observe in the book containing the Dutch methods sent us by Mr. Yale, not much more than some of us understood before of their affairs; but as there appears in this, great wisdom and policy, so since that time they have much bettered their constitutions, and refined their politics, and created many kinds of incomes, to increase their revenues, which they thought not of when those papers were first digested some thirty years since. However, we recommend to you the frequent reading and consideration of what is contained in those papers, which the oftener you read, the more you will discover the wisdom of those persons which contrived those methods.

"Their having all Lieutenants in their Garrisons to command their Companies, and a Major without a Company to command under their Governor, we may initiate in due time, but think it not proper at present, until your civil power be as well established and obeyed at Fort St. George as theirs is at Batavia.

"But if you could contrive a form of a corporation to be established, of the Natives mixed with some English freemen, for aught we know some

public use might be made thereof; and we might give the members some privileges and pre-eminencies by Charter under our seal, that might please them (as all men are naturally with a little power); and we might make a public advantage of them, without abating essentially any part of our dominion when we please to exert it. And it is not unlikely that the heads of the several castes, being made Aldermen and some others Burgesses, with power to choose out of themselves yearly their Mayor, and to tax all the inhabitants for a Town Hall, or any public buildings for themselves to make use of,—your people would more willingly and liberally disburse five shilling towards the public good, being taxed by themselves, than sixpence imposed by our despotical power (notwithstanding they shall submit to when we see cause), were Government to manage such a society, as to make them proud of their honour and preferment, and yet only ministerial, and subservient to the ends of the Government, which under us is yourselves.

"We direct nothing positively in this, but refer it to your consideration, and, if you think it may redound to the public good, and that you may the better adapt it to the good of the place, and establishing of our absolute power over it, and unto some similitude to the forms of such like Corporations in England where there is always a Governor, a superior power, and a Garrison, we have thought fit to send you a copy of the late Charter granted by his Majesty to the Borough of Portsmouth, where Sir John Biggs (Judge of the new Court of Admiralty at Madras) was Recorder,

and understands well not only that constitution, but the practical way of proceeding it.

"We know this can be no absolute platform for you. You may make great alterations according to the nature of the place and the people, and the difference of laws, customs, and almost everything else, between England and India; but this will serve as a foundation from whence to begin your considerations and debates concerning this affair; which will require great wisdom and much thinking and foresight, to create such a Corporation in Madras, as will be beneficial to the Company and place, without the least diminution of the sovereign power His Majesty has entrusted us with, and which we are resolved to exercise there during his Majesty's royal pleasure and confidence in us.

"Upon the whole matter, if you think any such constitution beneficial, and shall send us a Charter filled up with the names of the first and modern Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses,—the proper habits and ornaments we shall enjoin them to wear in the Court house and upon all other solemn occasions,—and what maces, or ensigns of authority, we shall admit to be carried before them by their proper officers or serjeants,—we shall consider of it, and probably return it to you, engrossed under our larger seal, with none or very little alteration.

"We conceive their Court Books must always be kept in the English tongue; and the Town clerk must always be an English man, that can speak Portuguese and Gentoo; and their Recorder must be the same. The habit of the Aldermen in

that hot country, we think ought to be thin scarlet silk gowns; their number twelve, besides the Mayor; that they may be allowed to have Kettysols over them. The Burgesses to wear black silk gowns; their number to be limited to 60, 80, or 100, as you shall find most convenient. The serjeants attending them, to bear silver Maces gilt, not exceeding one yard in length. All officers to be elected by the Mayor and Aldermen, with the approbation of our President, and to be paid by the corporation such reasonable salaries as the Mayor and Aldermen shall think fit; and to have such fees established by the Mayor and Aldermen as shall be settled and appointed by them with approbation of our President and Council. And, to give the Mayor and some of the Aldermen power to be always Justices of the Peace, as in the Portsmouth Charter, and to have power to try all causes that shall be brought before them,—to erect a proper prison for the use of the Corporation, and to award judgment and execution in all causes that shall be exhibited before them. The judgment to go always according to the sense of the Mayor and major part of the Aldermen present. But if any party thinks himself injured in a cause exceeding the value of twenty shillings by the sentence of the said Mayor and Aldermen,—the party offended may appeal for a rehearing to our Judge and Judicature of the Admiralty; who shall determine any cause brought before them by appeal, within two Court days next after the appeal brought; and their determination shall be final. In all civil causes,

any party grieved by the sentence of the said Mayor and Aldermen, or any Mayor or Justice of the said Corporation, may appeal to our President and Council for redress, who shall determine thereof the very next Council day ensuing, to the end that Justice be not delayed.

"We think it may be convenient that in the said Court of Aldermen, being twelve beside the Mayor, there should never be above three English freemen, and three Portuguese; the other seven to be Moors and Gentoos. But if you find any inconvenience or inconsistency, in the particulars we have propounded, you may correct or alter them in the draught you send us for such a Corporation.

"All fines levied in the said Corporation shall be half to the use of the Company, and the other half to the use of the Corporation; and in regard Sir John Biggs went over so well instructed as to the raising of some petty duties for the Company's new Court of Admiralty, we shall need to say no more of that now, but expect to hear from you and him, how you have regulated that matter for the benefit of the Company, and use of the inhabitants.

"If you should find such a Corporation as aforesaid advisable to be instituted, it would be most convenient that all debates in the Court of Aldermen should be in English (if it were possible); but if that cannot be at present, you must contrive methods to bring it to that in time.

"If the officers of the Court of Aldermen should seize any Englishmen for drunkenness or any such like crime, they are not to be resisted; but every

Englishman is to be carried before the President, or some English Justice of the Peace, and not to be judged or censured by any foreigner in a criminal cause. But in an action civil or personal, between an Englishman and any foreigner, the Court of Aldermen, by the Mayor's vote, shall judge and determine without appeal, if the value be under three Pagodas; but if it be above three Pagodas any party aggrieved may appeal to our Court of Admiralty as aforesaid.

"The Mayor and two Aldermen shall be a quorum for the trial of petty causes; but no duty shall be levied upon the inhabitants for public structures, officer's salaries or other ornaments, but with consent of the Mayor and at least six of the Aldermen.

"The Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and all their officers, before they enter upon their respective trusts shall take an oath to be true and faithful to his Majesty, to the Company, and to the Company's General of India for the time being.

"The Court of Aldermen may, by virtue of the powers granted by our intended Charter, assess and levy a rate upon the inhabitants for the building of one or more free school or schools for teaching the English tongue to Gentoos, or Moors, or other Indian children; and for salaries to the Schoolmasters, and by degrees for many other public good works, their constitution being to be so framed, that our President and Council shall always influence their debates and resolutions.

"Your three English Aldermen are always to be the Company's servants, and when any of them,

for any cause, cease to be the Company's servants, they are to cease to be Aldermen; and our President and Council are to nominate and appoint some other of the Company's servants to be Aldermen in the room and stead of such English Aldermen so removed from the Company's service.

"If any doubt arise concerning the true meaning or exercise of the powers intended by such a Charter, our President and Council are to determine all such doubts; and all persons are to conform to their determination until our own minds be further declared therein.'

"Besides the copy of the Portsmouth Charter to help your invention, we have drawn a similar form of Charter with such alteration as we apprehend necessary at present, which you may alter and add thereunto as you see cause, and then return another draught to us, with the blanks filled up with the names of all such persons as you think fittest to be the first and modern constitution.

"In your nomination of the first Aldermen, and for ever hereafter, you must observe not to make two brothers at the same time Aldermen, nor any that are near kindred; but so mix the heads of all castes in that Court that you may always hold the balance. Many other particulars of this and other kinds, you may find wisely provided for in the Dutch papers before mentioned, which will be worth your studying and frequent perusal.

"Our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch Government among the English in the Indies (than which a better cannot be invented) for the good of posterity, and to put us upon an

equal footing of power with them to offend or defend, or enlarge the English dominion and unite the strength of our nation under one entire and absolute command subject to us; as we are and ever shall be most dutifully to our own sovereign. But this distinction we will make, that we will always observe our own old English terms, viz. Attorney General instead of Fiscal, Alderman instead of Scepin, Burgesses instead of Burghers, Serjeants instead of Bailies, President and Agent instead of Commander, Director, or Commissary, etc. And this with his Majesty's approbation we are resolved to pursue steadily, and throw everything out of the way that obstructs or retards this good and great reformation."

Such was the plan proposed by Mr. Josiah Child to the Madras Council on the 28th September, 1687; and which we believe is now published for the first time. It is a curious coincidence that at this very moment a similar plan is being laid before the Madras Government by the Sanitary Reform Committee in this Presidency; a circumstance which will not diminish the interest of the above record. Mr. Josiah Child however was far more prompt in carrying out the scheme, than modern authorities are likely to be. Though he had invited the Agency at Madras to offer any suggestions they pleased, yet within three months, the maces and sword were sent out, together with orders for the immediate formation of a Corporation, and within a year the Corporation itself was in working order. On the 12th December, 1687, the Agency was informed that Mr. Child, as

Governor of the Company, and Mr. Bathurst, as Deputy Governor, had been admitted to an audience with his Majesty James II and the Cabinet Council; and that the audience had resulted in a determination to send out a Charter under the Company's seal. In September, 1688, the Corporation was fairly established, as will be seen by the following extracts.

"Thursday, 13th September, 1688. According to yesterday's summons, the President and Council met at the Fort Hall, to advise about the establishing of the Corporation of this city, where were present all,—the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Burgesses in town; when it was agreed to meet in their Gowns and Ornaments at the Town Hall on the 29th instant. The Aldermen in scarlet serge gowns, and the Burgesses in white China silk, to consult about the choosing whom they shall think fit to make up the number of Aldermen appointed by the Charter.

"Saturday, 29th September, 1688. According to this day's appointment, the President, Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Burgesses and chief of the inhabitants met at the Fort Hall; before whom the Right Honorable Company's Charter was publicly read by the Secretary. After which the President administered oaths to the Mayor and Recorder for their due performance of their places; and then the Mayor and Recorder did the like to the Aldermen and Burgesses, in their several manner and forms. A while after went to dinner, and about three in the evening the whole Corpora-

tion marched in their several Robes, with the Maces before the Mayor, to the Town Hall."

"Monday, 29th October, 1688. Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, Mayor, having the care and charge of the General Books of Accompts and the Mint upon him, which will take up so much of his time that he cannot attend the Court so often as may be requisite,—it is therefore agreed and ordered that the Mayor's Court be held once a fortnight, and that any two of the three English Aldermen Justices, or what other Aldermen are willing to go to the Choultry as formerly twice a week, to hear, punish, and determine all small offences and complaints to the amount of two Pagodas fine or award, all greater to be deferred to the Mayor's Court to be examined and decided there."

Before leaving this subject we may mention that in consequence of the troubles arising from the war with the Mogul, and the presence of Aurungzebe in the Dekkhan, no direct Municipal assessment was made for some time afterwards, and that consequently, the Mayor and Aldermen delivered in the following petition, dated 5th August, 1689.

"To the Hon'ble Elihu Yale, President and Governor of Fort St. George, and Council.

"Whereas the Right Hon'ble English East India Company having been pleased by their Charter under their larger seal, bearing date the 30th day of December, 1687, in the third year of our Sovereign Lord James the 2nd, King of Great Britain, etc., to make this their city a corporation, by constituting and erecting a Court, con-

sisting of Mayor, Aldermen, etc., not only for the ease of the Hon'ble President, etc., as also for hearing and redeeming all complaints and grievances of the inhabitants according to to equity, good conscience, as well as the Laws of the English nation; and because the Corporation have not as yet any stock, or found able to defray the necessary charges and expences of such officers and servants as must unavoidably be employed for the public good of the place; and seeing the circumstances of the times are so that we cannot impose yet any taxes upon the inhabitants, either to support the Corporation by building a Town Hall, Schools, Sewers, etc., for ornament and heathfulness of the place,—

"The Mayor and Aldermen, etc. do humbly request the Honorable President and Council would please to grant and assign over to the Corporation, the petty dues of Banksall Toll, measuring of grain, weighing of goods, as is usual in all Corporations in England."

This request was granted at the consultation held on the Monday following.

We now turn to the general history of the Presidency. In August, 1688, an Assurance Office was established in Madras, according to the plan laid down in the following notice.

"These are to give notice to all persons, that the Right Honorable Company have ordered and established an Assurance Office for the greater encouragement and security of trade, where all persons may be rightly informed therein, both as to assuring and being assured, according to the seve-

ral voyages and premiums the parties shall treat and agree upon ; where also they may have authentic Policies drawn and registered, the fees whereof being only one quarter per cent. to the Right Hon'ble Company, and nine fanams to the register for each Policy ; and those who have occasion may repair to Mr. Thomas Gray at his office in the Custom House ; no other Policies being held legal but which are registered by him. Dated at Fort St. George in the City of Madras this 28th day of August, anno 1688."

The following extracts will speak for themselves.

" Monday, 12th November, 1688. Some rogues to the northward having falsified and conterfeited our Pagodas Coin, making Pagodas of the same stamp but not three quarters the value of ours, which has raised great doubts and scandals upon our coin, to the depreciating it two or three per cent. below Pulicat Pagodas, even in our city by the Merchants and Shroffs to the great prejudice and discredit of our Pagodas, and lose of our Mint custom : it is therefore agreed and ordered that Proclamation be made in several parts of the town and city, prohibiting all persons whatever from advancing anything upon the Pulicat Pagoda by exchange ; and whosoever shall offend herein, to pay twenty Pagodas for the first fault, and double for the second, and a twelvemonth's improvement for the third.

" Also that all persons be forbidden to send Gold from hence to be coined at Pulicat Mint, upon forfeiture thereof upon due proofs ; and that

the Justices of the Peace do appoint the publishing and affixing these orders in English, Portuguese, and Gentoo at several public places of the City."

"Monday, 4th February, 1689. The miserable bad times and trade occasions great complaints about the collecting and paying the ground Quit Rents, and Mr. Thomas Wavell, the appointed Collector, and his assistants, having been stricter and larger therein than was required by the Right Honorable Company or is,—he is therefore ordered to keep to those rules, and to receive no more than 9 fanams for a great house, and fanams 6 and 3 for small houses in the Gentoo town, except such as belong to the Christians, which is according to the Company's express orders."

Mr. Wavell, who was present at this consultation, protested against the rebuke as follows:—"There was never any rate or rule given me to collect the Quit Rents by the Governor and Council, while making their consultations. As to my strict collection of the aforesaid Quit Rents, I am sure if guilty of anything it was of too much lenity to the inhabitants."

The following entries refer chiefly to the war with the Mogul, which had been commenced at the instigation of Mr. Child, and was persisted in by him with his accustomed ardour and obstinacy. Notwithstanding the failure at Chittagong, the following remarks appear in a General Letter, dated 27th August, 1688.

"The subjects of the Mogul cannot bear a war with the English for twelve months together, without starving and dying by thousands, for want of

work to purchase rice; not singly for want of our trade, but because by our war, we obstruct their trade with all the Eastern nations, which is ten times as much as ours, and all European nations put together. Therefore we conclude Fort St. George is now much more worth and secure to us, than ever it was in the mean King of Golconda's time; for he had little at sea for us to revenge ourselves upon; but now if new injuries should be offered us, we have a fat enemy to deal with, from whom something is to be got to bear our charges. Therefore we conclude that the Mogul's governors will never give us fresh provocations, nor deny you St. Thomé, or anything else you shall reasonably and fairly request of him.

"No great good was ever attained in this world without throes and convulsions, and therefore we must not grudge at what is past."

The state of Madras during this period may be inferred from the following extracts. It will be seen that the expedition against Bengal had so far failed, that all the Company's servants there had been compelled to take refuge at Fort St. George.

"Thursday, 7th March, 1689. Agent Charnock, his Council, and the several Factors and Writers to the number of twenty-eight persons, being arrived from Bengal, who, having from their disturbances and sudden surprising departure thence, laden the Right Honorable Company's concerns and remains in great confusion upon the several ships, of which we have received neither Invoices nor Bills of Lading:—it is therefore or-

dered that each Commander shall give a list of what they have on board."

"Thursday, 14th March. There being two Companies of soldiers in the Garrison and four more now brought by the Bengal shipping, with many supernumerary officers at very great charge to lessen,—the Governor proposed that the Portuguese and Topasses formerly in the Garrison, who refused serving the Honorable Company anywhere but at this place, that they be disbanded; but that the Portuguese and Topasses that returned from the Bay should be continued in service for their encouragement, having by their character of their commanders discharged their duties readily and well."

"Monday, 18th March. Letters from Basherad Khan, the Mogul's Dewan, wherein he descants upon the smallness of our rent and present, in consideration of the great profits and revenues we made of the place, which now was under the Mogul's dominion, and therefore not to be as in the King of Golconda's time. His chief design herein being to get a great present from us, which being well considered of, it is resolved not to concede to, since it can do us little kindness and may encourage their exactions.

"The Dewan's messenger, a great Moorman that was sent with the letter and to discourse more particularly in this occasion, was sent for and civilly treated; who, after many stories and magnifying his Master's interest and power in the Mogul's Court and this country; the President told him that we were and should be very desirous

to continue the Dewan's friendship, which we hope he would not deny us, in consideration of the many great advantages our settlements and trade brought to the country ; and that he was misinformed of our profits by it, the Revenues not defraying half the charge we were at in maintaining it and the poor ; however it was our own, given us by the grant of several Kings, and solely raised and built by the Right Honorable Company's charge from a barren sand ; which we should defend against all opposers of our right ; and so dismissed the Moor with calmer thoughts and expectations than he brought."

"Monday, 15th April 1689. The Court Martial upon the 12th instant, having tried the nine Englishmen sent us by the Dutch Commissary from Pulicat, and finding them all guilty of piracy, though not all equally culpable ; therefore it was concluded by majority of votes to condemn two to death, and six to be branded in the forehead with a "P.;" which six was to have been branded to day, but the Marshall being sick, it is ordered to defer the execution till to-morrow ; and that two of them be branded at the execution post under the Fort point, and that the guards be drawn up to be spectators of the sad examples. The other four, to make their punishment more exemplary and to terrify others,—it is ordered that two be branded aboard the "Williamson" and the other two aboard the "Resolution ;" and the said offenders do proceed on their ships to the West Coast."

"Friday, 27th September, 1689. Last night the President receiving a letter from Pulicat, ad-

vising that the Mogul has ordered the besieging this place and destroying all the English in his dominions, and to seize their concerns, with many other severities against us; assuring us they received late letters from Golconda of the certainty thereof, as also the continued differences at Bombay which had exasperated the Mogul to this cruel order; but that we may not be surprised, the Paymaster Storekeepers (in their several employs) are ordered to fit and repair the defences of the town, and walls of the Garrison, and make provision of Powder, Shot, etc., sufficient against a seige."

"This evening was informed with the sad news of Haja Rajah's death (i. e. Sambajee, king of the Mahrattas); but no account who is like to succeed." In an entry of the 4th December, we find that Rama Raja had succeeded.

"Monday, 7th October, 1689. The "Pearl" frigate arriving yesterday from Vizagapatam, and by her came Bengal peons, who brought us several letters and a firmaun from the new Nabob of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan to the President, dated 2nd July, very kindly inviting us to return and resettlement, with assurance of a just and fair usage to the Right Honorable Company's servants and trade, and upon the former privileges, and to assist us in the recovery of our debts owing to us in those parts; much blaming the late Nabob's injustice and cruelty to our people; which notwithstanding it is most acceptable news to us, as we doubt not it will also be to the Right Honorable Company; but our resettlement being a matter of great weight and importance, it is ordered and

agreed that the Agent, etc. of the Bengal Council be summoned to a Council with us.

"Thursday, 10th October. Agent Charnock and Council being this day joined with us in Council, the Nabob's letters and firmaun from Bengal to the President were perused and long debated on, and being concluded to be a happy good opportunity to return and settle in Bengal, that Government being under that famously just and good Nabob Ibrahim Khan, who has so kindly invited us to it, and faithfully engaged our peace and safety, of his honour the Agent has had long experience at Patna; . . but the war continuing still at Bombay . . . . . it is agreed that the General of Surat be advised as soon as possible thereof, and copies of the firmaun and letters sent him, with our opinion thereof, desiring his advice and orders therein, and that a small vessel be fitted for that purpose, the overland passage being very uncertain and dangerous."

The danger of the Agency at this time may be gathered from the following account of the seizure of the English Factory at Vizagapatam, by the order of the Mogul.

"Thursday, 15th October, 1689. Letter from Maddapollum confirming the sad disaster at Vizagapatam, giving us a relation thereof as follows. That on the 13th ultimo, the Seer Lascar by the Mogul's orders had sent his Rashwar to our Factory in order to seize and bring away the English and all their concerns. The said Rashwar with his forces coming nigh the town in the night, where he had pitched his Tent, etc; and about

nine did surround the Factory with his men, and acquainted the English with the Seer Lascar's orders. To which was replied, they could not go up without their Master's orders. Then as the first Rashwar was taking the Chief by hand to pluck him out of the house, Mr. Hall fires his blunderbuss and kills three of their men; upon which they murdered Mr. Stables, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Croke, taking the rest prisoners, and seizing upon all the Right Honorable Company's concerns. No further news of Mr. Dubois and Mr. Fleetwood, who were gone up the country for provision of paddy for the Right Honorable Company's account."

We shall conclude the present chapter, with the following account of a plan for relieving the poor, which was proposed in a General Letter dated 11th September, 1688.

"Upon perusal of your Consultation Books, we find in several places you pay money out of the Company's Stock, for relieving of some poor English, and other charitable uses, which is more than we can justly or dare do ourselves; we being not entrusted with the Adventurer's Stock as the Governors of Hospitals, but to trade with it, and to fortify and defend our trade by treaties or arms. Yet since there will in all Colonies be a necessity sometimes to relieve distressed poor, we would have you raise a fund or stock for that purpose, which you may intrust in the hands of two or three of our Council, and two or three of the best, most charitable, and ablest of your Inhabitants, whom you may commission by themselves or their pro-

per officer, to ask and receive upon all Pay days, and every Lord's day, or once a month at the Church, what shall be freely contributed towards the relief of the poor; and you may entitle those so commissioned by the name or style of "Fathers of the poor," as the Dutch call them "Fathers" or "Masters of the West houses."

In another part of the same letter we are told that the Dutch were confessedly, by the whole world, the most considerate, prudent, and foreseeing of any people in Europe in affairs of this kind, and that the poor's stock in the city of Batavia had already become of the value of thirty thousand pounds.

## CHAPTER X.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE.

*(Continued.)*

### 1687—1692.

The annals of the years 1689 and 1690, which are included in the present chapter, are marked by two important incidents, namely, the rise of the Armenian Community, and the breaking out of the war with France. Before however noticing these interesting events, it will be as well to draw attention to the following extracts which are valuable as exhibiting the relative position of the English, French, and Dutch in Southern India, as well as their attitude towards Aurungzebe the Mogul, and Rama Rajah, the new king of the Mahrattas. It may here be remarked that the French had purchased the village of Pondicherry, together with a small adjacent tract, as early as 1672, from the king of the now extinct kingdom of Bijapore. Consequently the French settlement was dependent on the Mahrattas, whilst the English were partly dependent on both the Mahrattas and the Mogul.

"Monday, 4th December, 1689. Having received certain advice from the Chief and Council at Conimere (?), that Rama Rajah, king of the Mahrattas, is come overland from his kingdom and army at Poona to the government and castle at

Ginjee, and that the French and Dutch have already sent persons with considerable presents to congratulate him into the country, each reported to be to the amount of nearly 1400 Pagodas; and it being also expected that we should likewise pay our respects to him in the same nature, as well for the favourable assistance done the Right Honorable Company at Bombay, as also for the protection of our Garrison and trade in his country; and though he may expect to be visited by one of our Council, yet lest that should give suspicion to the Mogul government and army in these parts and exasperate them against us, which they seem now inclined to from the late news and troubles at Bombay:—we therefore conclude it more safe and expedient that the Chief of Conimere, with a suitable retinue, do go and visit Rama Rajah at Ginjee, with a present from thence, wherein not much to exceed the amount of Pagodas 600. Since the French circumstances and ours in those parts are different, where they having their chief residence and settlement in that government, and lately built a considerable Fort at Pondicherry. The particulars of our present to be one of the Right Honorable Company's Persian horses, with handsome furniture; three or four pieces of broadcloth, fine and ordinary; fire arms; with some other varieties that may be most pleasing and acceptable to him.

"Tuesday, 10th December, 1689. This day came news from Conimere that the Mahrattas had besieged the French at Pondicherry, demanding great sum of money from them, notwithstanding they had lately received a considerable present from

them; and that the Conimere Government and the Dewan's peons have likewise been very pressing with our merchants there for 1000 or 500 Pagodas a man loan from them.

"Thursday, 12th October. Ordered that the out town (i. e. Black Town) and bridge river be trenched and fortified with turf and clay work as well and soon as possible; it being reported that a considerable force from the Mogul is coming against us."

This measure appears to have excited considerable discussion in the consultation room, and four out of the seven men recorded their protest against it, in their own hand writing. Mr. Thomas Wavell wrote,—"I except the trenching and fortifying the out town with bulwarks, it being in my opinion rather a battery against the Fort, than any defence to it." Mr. William Fraser wrote,—"I approve of the walling in of the Black-town with a substantial brick wall, as well for strength as for securing the Honorable Company's Customs; but not with mud or turf which will soon moulder away; and that the Honorable Company be not at six pence charge thereon." Mr. William Cowley wrote,—"I except the fortifying and entrenching the Black town, being of opinion that mud walls and bulwarks will neither answer the charge or end proposed." Mr. Thomas Gray simply wrote, —"I consent to fortify upon the Governor's promise to reimburse the Company if they disapprove of it."

"Wednesday, 18th December, 1689. There being a black fellow and slave named Francisco,

alias Chow, condemned to death in the Mayor's Court for theft, who appealing to the President and Council, and there appearing no evidence against him at trial, more than his own confession under punishment before his trial, at which time he pleaded not guilty; notwithstanding which, the Jury brought him in guilty only upon his former confession; which being a hard case, and this offence too common amongst our slaves, and usually punished with a corporal punishment and banishment:—it is therefore agreed and ordered that the said Chow be pardoned the sentence of death; and that he be stigmatized on the shoulder with the Honorable Company's mark with a hot iron, and banished to the West Coast (of Sumatra) the Right Honorable Company's slave, where he may do them service and be more exemplary than by his death."

We now arrive at one of the great events in the domestic history of Madras, namely, the first appearance of the Armenians. The Armenians, as our readers are aware, originally inhabited the great mountainous region on the upper courses of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Araxes, and at an early period were converted to the Christian faith. Subsequently they fell under the rule of the Persian kings, and suffered severe persecution from the followers of Zoroaster. At length they were scattered by the advancing tide of Mussulman conquest; and, like the Jews, they spread over Asia and became the great merchants and brokers in the eastern world. Some made their way to India, and the Directors of the Company sent out explicit

directions that they should be encouraged to reside within the English settlements, and invested with certain privileges and rights, which were guaranteed by a special contract made between some representatives of the Armenians who visited London, and the Directors of the East India Company. This contract is briefly noticed by Mr. Mill, who however acknowledged that he was ignorant of its terms. His commentator Mr. Wilson, however, boldly insinuates that there is no reason for supposing that there was any contract at all. This is only another instance of the mistakes into which the historians of India have not unfrequently fallen, from neglecting to go through the necessary drudgery of perusing the voluminous records. It has been our good fortune to find a copy of the contract, the existence of which was doubted if not denied by so distinguished a scholar as Mr. Wilson. It is dated 22nd June, 1688, and though our space will not permit us to give it entire, we append the most important clauses.

The preamble declares that after long conferences between Sir Josiah Child on behalf of the Company, and Coja Fanous, Calendar, an Armenian Merchant of Ispahan, and Sir John Chardin, Knight, both on behalf of the Armenian nation, the East India Company had agreed,

"1st, That the Armenian nation shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own Adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

"2nd, That they shall have free liberty at all

times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India on any Company's ships, on as advantageous terms as any freemen whatsoever.

"3rd, That they shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell, and purchase land or houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born; and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare, that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them; neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India than the Company's Factors, or any other Englishman born do or ought to do.

"4th, That they may voyage from any of the Company's garrisons to any other ports or places in India, the South Seas, China, or the Manillas in any of the Company's ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company; and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manillas, or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company's Charter, upon equal terms, duties, and freights with any free Englishmen whatever."

Again on the 10th August, same year, we find that all liberty previously granted to private persons to send India goods home during the war against the Mogul, was annulled and made void, except the liberty granted to the Armenians.

There can be no doubt but that Coja Panous,

Calendar, was thus entitled to the lasting gratitude of the whole Armenian community, though truth compels us to say that he took advantage of his position to obtain a nice little monopoly for himself. That Coja Panous thereby exhibited great presence of mind, and did infinite credit to his Armenian descent, will be acknowledged by all; but we think that some credit is also due to the wide awake Londoner, Sir Josiah Child. It seems that Coja Panous had agreed that his countrymen should pay a considerable number of duties even on goods belonging to the overland trade; and in return he obtained from Sir Josiah Child the following little favour which speaks for itself.

"Whereas Coja Panous, Calendar, etc. hath taken great pains in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried on in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation, the said Governor and Company in consideration thereof do by these presents (at the request of the said Coja Panous) freely grant unto him and his family the sole trade of Garnets, etc. And the said Company do hereby declare, that they will neither trade in the said commodity themselves, nor suffer any other persons, English or strangers, for the future to trade or traffic in that commodity. Given under the Company's seal, etc."

We cannot however avoid noticing one other engagement on the part of the Directors, which is somewhat remarkable, considering the general intolerance of the time. The following extract will explain itself.

"We (the Company) by these presents, declare, grant and agree, that when over forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall be also allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a Church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at our own charge cause a convenient Church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build of stone or other solid materials to their own good liking And the said Governor and Company will also allow £50 per annum during the space of seven years for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein."

Copies of these contracts were sent to Fort St. George in a General Letter, dated 27th August, 1688. We append an extract from the Letter, which shews that Sir Josiah Child had formed a good opinion of Coja Panous.

"Copies of our contracts with the Armenians we send you enclosed, and desire and strictly enjoin you to perform every part and article thereof, that they may have no cause to complain of the least discountenance or discouragement from you in any respect. . . . They are an innocent harmless people, that will not be apt to contend or plead law with us, and are certainly sober, frugal, and very wise in all the commodities and places of India."

We shall probably have many occasions to re-

turn to the Armenians in future issues; but we make the following extract from the consultations, as it appears to be the earliest notice of them preserved in the Madras records.

"Thursday, 6th March, 1690. Senor Gregorio Paron, and other Armenians, in a Petition to the Council, representing the privileges they agreed upon in England with the Right Hon'ble Company, wherein they are to be equal with all other English as to the liberties and customs of the place; they likewise requested to be free from all petty duties to the Pedda Naik, Town Conicopolies, etc, as the English are; they paying nothing more than the appointed custom of five per cent, with the accustomary fees; and though this grant will be a great discouragement and lessening to the Pedda Naik's duty, whereby he will be disenabled to maintain the usual guards and watches he is obliged to, but it being the Honorable Company's orders and agreement, the Customers are ordered for the future to exempt them from their petty duties."

The following extract illustrates the mode of electing Aldermen in the olden time.

"Wednesday, 26th March, 1690. There being several of the Aldermen's places vacant in the Corporation, it is agreed that Senor Alvaro de Fonseca be elected in the room of Senor Domingo de Porto deceased, and in the room of the Portuguese that have refused standing, they make choice of the ablest Armenians they can get in the city, and Timmapa in the place of Chinna Vencatadry deceased."

About this time the news reached India of the great events which had transpired in Great Britain. The revolution of 1688 had been accomplished. James II had "abdicated" his throne, and William and Mary had become the sovereigns of England. The event was duly noted to the Agency at Fort St. George, in a General Letter, dated 15th February, 1689, as follows.

"You will hear of the great change that it has pleased God by his wonderful providence to make in the government of this nation; and before the ship departs we may have occasion to write you more thereof, when the Lords and Commons have finished the intended settlement of the Prince and Princess of Orange, whom the Lords have voted to be King, and Queen of the Realm."

Another General Letter, dated a fortnight later, contains the following advice.

"We send you herewith 20 Proclamations of our new King and Queen, to whom we wish all happiness, and hereby require to make solemn Proclamation of them according to the usual form in such extraordinary cases, and cause the like to be done at our chief Factory in Bengal, and at our Forts upon the West Coast with all due solemnity."

England now became an ally of the Dutch, and was at once involved in a war with France. But the following extracts tell their own story.

"Monday, 21st July, 1690. Receiving late advices from the Agent and Council at Surat of the 10th ultimo, enclosing their Majesties (William and Mary) Declaration of War against France,

also a warrant for our hostility in these parts, both which are ordered to be solemnly proclaimed to-morrow morning at the Fort Gate, Choultry, and Sea Gate, accompanied by Captain Thomas Gray and Mr. William Hassell, and attended with a company of soldiers, the Secretary and Town Clerk, etc., formalities as usual in such cases. It is likewise ordered that their authentic copy be sent to Bengal."

"Thursday, 1st August, 1690. The Heer Lawrence Pitt, Governor of Pulicat, having some days since passed this port with three ships bound with Pulicat stores and ammunition for Negapatam, but being the way surprised with the news of a French fleet arrived on Ceylon, who had taken a fly boat of theirs, and was supposed to be bound for this coast; which occasioned the Dutch Governor's return and sending a letter to the President of Fort St. George to desire our permission for his fleet anchoring in this road under our protection, and to join with our ships against the enemy, and to consult with the President what shall be most expedient in this affair; whose letter was accordingly answered and liberty granted. He came to an anchor, paying all accustomary civilities to the place, and it is agreed that upon his coming ashore, he be entertained according to his quality and business, and that we unite our forces as well as for the defence of our ships as the garrison. There being a report that the French fleet sent out consists of seventeen men of war, which is a very considerable force for us to dispute with all, it is therefore ordered

that the Paymaster do entertain as many European soldiers and gunners assistants as he can, as also Mustesees and Topasses, till this alarming danger be past; and Gunner Ivory being lately deceased, Captain Putsham is appointed and ordered to succeed in that employ as Gunner of the Fort, being well qualified therein."

The remaining portion of the consultation book for the year 1690, is chiefly occupied by the uninteresting details connected with the purchase of Tegnapatam from Rama Raja, and an obsolete controversy between Mr. Yale and the members of his council. The approach of the French fleet however, and the engagements which took place with the French, are matters which will be read with interest. The Dutch fleet, under Herr Lawrence Pitt, anchored in the Madras roads on the 1st of August; the subsequent entries tell their own story.

"Monday, 4th August. The Heer Lawrence Pitt, being designed to come ashore this day, Mr. Thomas Wavell and Mr. John Cheney were ordered to attend upom him aboard, and conduct him ashore.

"This evening the Dutch Governor landed and was kindly received by the President at the Sea Custom House Gate, and thence conducted to the Fort, welcoming him with 21 great guns, with all other due respects and civilities suitable to his quality and the great alliance of the nations.

"Tuesday, 5th August. This morning received news of the French fleet's arrival at Pondicherry, consisting of eight sail of ships, two of which is

reported to have been taken from the Dutch, with considerable treasure aboard of them, betwixt Ceylon and Negapatam, being bound thither from Batavia. Also reporting to have met and destroyed a Europe ship of ours at the Island of Johanna, but what she was, or the certainty thereof, is not yet known.

"Wednesday, 6th August. An entertainment made for Governor Pitt and the rest of the Dutch people.

"Thursday, 7th August. This evening Governor Pitt returned on board to order and put his fleet in a posture of defence against the French.

"Friday, 8th August. Some French fugitives lately running away from their fleet at Pondicherry, give us the following relation of the unhappy loss of Ship "Herbert" at Johanna (in the Mozambique Channel). That in February last, the French fleet, consisting of six men of war, set sail from France, and on their way at Johanna most unhappily under Dutch colours, surprised the "Herbert;" but soon discovered their disguise by surrounding and fighting her; she making a brave resistance against all six for three hours; when upon approaching darkness she endeavoured to quit herself from them and put off to sea, but being overpowered, she was fatally cleared from her cruel enemies by the blowing up of the ship, supposed rather by choice than accident. And they also report her to be a very rich ship, and that near 300 souls perished in her destruction; the inhuman French giving no quarter to the poor creatures that were blown up through the

flames into the sea, but basely murdered them as they were crawling half frosted up their ships for life, merely declaring that they would nowhere give quarter to the English. The French report the Captain and many of her men escaped in a boat to Johanna. God grant it proves true, if so they will soon get conveyance for Bombay, where we think they were bound. From Johanna the French fleet steered for Pondicherry, and in their way at Ceylon took two Dutch ships with money and goods to the value of 50,000 Pagodas. From thence they sailed to the coast, cruising from Tranquebar to Pondicherry the 3rd instant; they arrived there with eight sail of ships, where they were victualling and fitting them, putting their treasure and sick and wounded men ashore, making great preparations as they report for Siam, Tenasserim, or Bengal.

"Saturday, 9th August. The French being still at Pondicherry, making great preparations for some design or voyage, which they sometimes report to be for Tenasserim, other times for Bengal; but lest their intention should be for this place, the Paymaster and Storekeeper are ordered, with the Officers and Gunners, to get all things in readiness for the defence of the place; the Governor also giving them a role, when the Council, etc. are ordered to the charge and command of the several Gates, Bulwarks, and Points in the Garrison, and quartering our soldiers and gunners; ordering each person to visit his post to-morrow morning, to repair or supply the wants and defects of each place; and there being now little

charge or business at Conimere, it is ordered that all but 12 soldiers and gunners do, with their Captain James Lesly and officers, hasten hither with all expedition to strengthen our garrison and ships which are in great want of them.

"Wednesday, 14th August. The French fleet being still at Pondicherry, making great preparation for some hostile design, and there being great reason to suspect their assaulting the Dutch and our ships in this road;- it was therefore proposed to hire and man some of the ablest country vessels in the road to join with the Dutch fleet; and that the Governor and the Heer Pitt consult thereon, and draw up rules and orders for the fleet in case of an engagement, that we may not be surprised into a confusion.

"Tuesday, 15th August. The French fleet of seven sail appearing about eight this morning, the garrison was alarmed, the gates shut, and orders given for all persons to repair to their several posts, the gunners to get the guns in readiness, and all possible preparations made to offend the enemy and defend the place. Captain Heath ordered aboard his ship with sixty soldiers, besides officers, and reformadoes; and notice and assistance given to all the other ships to prepare for an engagement if they assaulted us. Advice also to the Dutch Governor and fleet that one of the French fleet was a fire ship, therefore to prepare against her; who courageously returned the President answer, that he was in readiness and feared them not. God grant us success.

"A Relation of this Day's action and engage-

ment of war, betwixt the enemy the French fleet and ours in this Road.

"This (Tuesday) being St. Lewis's day, the French fleet appeared in sight about eight in the morning, consisting of seven sail,—six men of war and a fireship,—all making as near the shore as the land wind would permit them. At eleven came to an anchor in St. Thomé road, calling there a council of war; the Portuguese welcoming them with several guns and their flags abroad, a respect not usually paid amongst them to any other European nation. About one of the clock they came so near that we sent a shot from the Fort to forbid their approach, which they took so little notice of that they immediately fired on the headmost Dutch ship, all theirs and ours ranging as near the shore as possible. Soon after, their whole fleet being come within shot of ours, they let fly with that sharpness and fury as is usual to a French onset; which was considerably returned by ours, as also played what guns from the Fort we could bring to bear upon them, which, though at great distance and random, did some execution and prevented their coming nearer, or within our fleet. In this heat they entered their fireship upon the Dutch Admiral, fixing their hooks and grapplings upon her leeward bow, and so blew up immediately into a flame; but was, by the courage and dexterity of the Dutch, as soon cut off from them, driving by the rest of the fleet, a great escape and mercy, which, if it had taken place, would undoubtedly have destroyed all the ships in the road; the French fleet being all ready

to prosecute the confusion of the rest, and were much baulked at their disappointment. However they plied their guns with great quickness and little execution, and after three hour's hot dispute, they grew weary of the visit; returning with greater speed than they came, not allowing themselves time to weigh their anchor, but fairly cut and nimbly marched like Frenchmen, bringing their fleet to an anchor about five leagues to the Southward, where they rode civilly till about ten the next day. The same evening the Governor gave strict charge and command to all the captains and officers round the garrison, to get themselves prepared and a good watch kept, great guns loaded and mounted, lest the enemy should assault us. The same was recommended to all our fleet in the road; to which was answered that they were in a better posture of defence, and fitter for an engagement than they were before.

"Wednesday, 16th August. This morning about ten of the clock, the French fleet weighed, sailing gently to the northward, and in their way at Trivatore valiantly took an old deserted country vessel belonging to some Pulicat inhabitants. But whither they are bound God knows, but it is concluded to Bengal.

"The Dutch and our loss in this fight were but eleven men killed and about ten wounded, and but little prejudice to our ships. Undoubtedly the French have suffered much more, and their sudden weighing is an argument of it. Besides it is reported that their Admiral was killed, and several others of note, with many seamen, in all said to be

187 men, with considerable damage to their shipping and rigging. We also hear that there were several men sent ashore and buried in St. Thomé church, when the town late at night fired several guns, supposed to be in respect to the deceased.

"Monday, 28th August. The Herr Lawrence Pitt being designed this afternoon with his retinue on board, in order to their proceeding to the Fort at Negapatam,—the President made an entertainment for him and the rest of the Dutch people, showing him all the respect and civilities imaginable due to his quality and employ; and about four in the evening he embarked, carrying off with him the large treasure of 100,000 Pagodas which was secured for them in the Fort."

The French do not at this time appear to have made a second appearance in the Madras roads.

# CHAPTER XI.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. ELIHU YALE.

*(Concluded.)*

## 1687—1692.

The concluding years of the governorship of Mr. Elihu Yale, which will be included in the present number, are chiefly occupied by the proceedings connected with a serious rupture between the President and his Council, but they were nevertheless distinguished by some incidents which will be found of considerable interest. A remarkable missionary effort in behalf of the Indo-Portuguese was made by the Directors about this period; and some important plans were sent out from home for the improvement of the town. Before however touching upon these matters, it will be as well to notice the quarrel in the Council. It appears to have arisen in consequence of some irregularities said to have been committed by a Mr. Thomas Yale, brother of the President, during a trading voyage to the Chinese seas. The matter in dispute is however of little consequence in the present day. The great point of interest is the manner in which the quarrel was carried on; and the correspondence that passed is so strikingly illustrative of the period, that we cannot forbear extracting some of the most racy passages.

The first important letter that was entered in the Records is the following. The paper alluded to in the opening paragraph, is a mere statement of commercial transactions, made by Thomas Yale and supported by the President, of no interest whatever to modern readers. The present letter was written by the Council to the President. It is dated 10th November, 1690, and plainly shows that the writers were suffering from a painful attack of "superabundant vigour."

"To the Honorable Elihu Yale, Esq., President and Governor of Fort St. George.

Hon'ble Sir,—You delivered us a paper last Council day stuffed with evasive arguments and false affirmations, to blind the Right Honorable Company and cloak your brother's frauds. It doth not require our saying anything to prove your several assertions wholly malicious and untrue, they evidently appearing so to all impartial unbiassed men, and doubt not our Hon'ble Masters will rightly discern them, notwithstanding your endeavours to cast a mist before their understandings," etc. . . . . .

"That confused flashy pamphlet, being a mixture of froth, lies, wind, nonsense, and insolent abuses, signed to by Mr. Thomas Yale, and delivered us by Your Honour, we shall take no farther notice of, than to tell your Honour that we expected something more to the purpose, after that paper so long lying under your Honour's correction and amendment. Your brother's abundant ignorance so puffed up his vain mind with the hopes of being esteemed a wit, that he had the simplicity to di-

vulge his folly to the world, by giving a copy of his infamous libel to all he met of his acquaintance, by which means half the men in town could repeat his senseless story before your Honour delivered it to us ..... The respect and honour due to your place, has kept us from writing in your own abusive strain. We are, honourable Sir, your most humble servants." Signed by four members of council. Dated 10th November 1690.

No answer appears to have been received to this letter; accordingly on the 6th of January, 1691, the four members wrote again, requesting President Yale to summon weekly councils according to the Company's orders. "It is a long time," they said, "since you were pleased to summon us to Council, and permit our examining the Company's cash, which you have by an assumed, unwarrantable and arbitrary power, made use of as suited best to your own profit, converting it to your own use and purposes." ..... "We must confess that your continual affronts, abuses, and ill language is somewhat unpleasant to us, but we are willing to bear with that, and as many more ill names as you are able to contrive, rather than to let the Company's business suffer. ..... We do therefore declare our readiness to promote their interest, which if we find Your Honour still resolved to oppose, we must make it our study to prevent their approaching ruin."

Three days afterwards President Yale sent a long and powerful reply, from which we make the following extracts:

"To the worshipful Council of Fort St. George,

I have been thus long silent to your scurrilous paper of the 10th November, as well to conceal your insolent malice, as to silence your turbulencies; but I see such mildness rather emboldens than calms them, as by your new venemous production, whose audacious falsities and threats provoke me to a plainer answer than I intended; that the Right Hon'ble Company and the world may judge betwixt me and you as to our duties, actions, and services. . . . . You first mind me of the Right Hon'ble Company's orders for the calling a Council once a week, which till very lately I have duly performed twice a week, as sufficiently by the consultation books, where you will also find the great neglect and contempt of my summons, by the often wilful absence of some of you, who publicly declared their slights and aversion to them, and the reason why I have not troubled you are many. First for want of business. Secondly that I went to my Garden house for my health and diversion, as some of you did to the Mount and elsewhere; but mine is so near the town, as was no impediment to my inspection of the place or the Hon'ble Company's affairs; daily giving the usual orders for the garrison, and duly corresponding with all places which had occasion; and when any other business offered, I proposed it to you in writing as appears by the entries in the consultation book, and our several letters, so that there has been no neglect in the Right Hon'ble Company's business I know of; the Secretary also acquainting you by my order that if you had

anything of moment to offer, you might signify it to him, and I should summon a council for it, but heard nothing from you thereof. This quiet method I proposed as an expedient for the more unanimous carrying on the Right Hon'ble Company's affairs without interruption, and to avoid the usual disturbances our meetings were noised with; where instead of reasoning upon business, I met with nothing but obstructions, provoking affronts and cavils; and what we then agreed on was either cancelled next day, or blotted with abusive, malicious, or senseless exceptions, which made me both weary and ashamed of them . . . . You next asperse me with making use of and employing the Right Honorable Company's Cash to my own profit, which the Almighty God knows is as false as he is true, I having often freely supplied their occasions with many thousands Pagodas, but I thank God had never any inclination or occasion to make use of theirs. . . . And the more to prove the idleness of your charge, I must tell you, that for near two years past I have had near a hundred thousand Pagodas of my friends consignments laying dead by me for want of an opportunity to invest it, besides some of my own. . . But this is like the rest of your scandalous forgeries, which in the end will make you infamous amongst all loyal honest good men. . . . And I cannot but wonder at your last strange and dangerous expression that you expect a sudden ruin to the place and the Honorable Company's affairs, since I cannot see or hear any reason for or the least fear of it, excepting you

design it from yourselves; since otherwise the place was never in a more peaceable state than now, as to outward enemies; I having a fair correspondence with all our neighbouring forces and governments, I doubt not the Almighty will still continue his blessing upon my care and conduct, which in our greatest troubles and dangers preserved the place free from injury, or molestation, during the whole war with the Mogul, when nothing but destruction was expected, and too heavily fell upon our other settlements; we were also preserved from threatened dangers of the Mahrattas and late assaults of the French; but if there are any inward private enemies, they may be more dangerous, and indeed I know not how to construe your threats; it too much confirms me in some reports I have had of your insinuating and making parties with the officers and soldiers of the garrison; but I hope God will divert you from any such horrid crimes as rebellion, or the seeking my life and estate, which if you do, believe it will cost you dear; therefore for God, our king's, our country's, our Hon'ble Master's, and your own sake, desist from all such wicked attempts which you will certainly fall in; remembering the sad consequences of rebellion everywhere, and particularly the former one here, as also at Bombay and St. Helena. But I hope you have better principles and designs, than to let our personal disagreements run into a general ruin, avoiding that hellish conclusion of "Scelera sceleribus fuenda."

The members of council replied on the 16th of the same month. It is unnecessary to reproduce

the whole of their epistle. It contains however one taunt which led to an important disclosure. It will be seen that President Yale had referred to his own money, as well as to the money he had belonging to friends. The council noted this, and in referring to some of their charges against him, they wrote,—"it is possible when we have an impartial hearing, your mighty condition will be found too mean to compensate." Mr. Yale's wrath now fairly boiled over. He declared that he would neither receive nor answer any more of their abusive papers; but with reference to his insufficient estate, he wrote,—"I think you are a little unreasonable, that my twenty years diligent service in India and trading, above five hundred thousand Pagodas should be too poor a crop for you is hard; but I cannot help it, having used all honest endeavours to do better, so pray be contented." This enormous sum is equivalent to about £175,000 sterling; but in comparison with the ordinary fortunes of the time must have approximated to nearly a million. President Yale had undoubtedly made this fortune by private trade, a share of which was at this time allowed to every servant of the Company, and the profits of which were enormous. A salary commencing at £5 a year and never exceeding £100, until he became governor and received £300, could only have been a drop in the ocean in comparison with so vast a sum.

This quarrel continued down to the end of the Governorship of Mr. Yale. It involved another quarrel between the President and the Mayor's Court, and at last terminated in the arrival of Sir

John Goldesborough to act as Governor General of all India, and to settle all differences. These events will he discussed in the order in which they occurred. The following extracts will explain themselves.

"February 8th, 1661. The Court of Aldermen desire that the judgment of their Court might be absolute and final in all causes whatever, some of the members being unwilling otherwise to sit or act there; to which the President told them, that if any of their members, were dissatisfied with the constitution of the Charter and Corporation, they might ease themselves of the trouble for 5 Pagodas, and others more agreeable elected in their room; but that to give a greater power to the Court than the Charter did was to alter the Charter."

"March 27th. The President sent the following note to the Mayor's Court, and ordered to be registered.

"To the Worshipful the Mayor
and Aldermen,

The Right Honorable Company, Lords Proprietors of this place, expecting by their constituting a Corporation an advantage and benefit both to themselves and the place, as also the erecting a Town Hall, School house, Hospital, Walling the City, etc., none whereof are yet done or anything towards it or designed that I know of,—I, therefore, in the Right Hon'ble Company's name and for their account, require you to restore their revenues of measuring and weighing and duties to them as formerly; as also what you have received on

those accounts, since if they are not benefitted, there is no reason they should be losers by the Corporation.—ELIHU YALE.

The Corporation protested against this resumption on the ground that it was carried out by the President alone, and without the concurrence of his Council.

Some further light is thrown upon the working of the Corporation by the following extract from a General letter, dated 22nd January, 1692.

"In our late President's letters dated the 31st October 1690, we observe the intimation he gives us of their being at present eight English Aldermen in our Corporation. It is a thing we do not well approve of, and do recommend it to the care of our now President and Council that for the future most of the Aldermen may consist of the Heads of the several foreign castes, namely, one Armenian, one or two Hebrews, one or two Portuguese, one or two Gentoos, and one Moor if you have a sufficient number of that caste. Though we would have you effect by gentleness and persuasion, rather than by exacting the utmost of that power which in the Charter is reserved to our President and Council, because we hope that Corporation consisting of the Heads of all Castes, and representing them in a subordinate manner, may induce all the Inhabitants to contribute cheerfully to some Public Works, such as a Court House, Public Schools, Hospitals, and other things for the good of the place, and several nations therein inhabiting; which a wise Council may invent of their own accord, and may be of

great use in the punishing of small criminal offences to our standing supreme authority there, our President and Council; as will also be their determining of small controversial matters among the Inhabitants, who will be the better satisfied with their judgment, as they have one of their own Caste to represent them."

The following extract will be interesting to some of our engineers.

"June 2nd. The Gunner was ordered to try the several guns on the several points to see how far they carry, who gave the following report.

"Our Guns carry into 6 fathom upon a level, and into 7 fathom at 2 degrees elevation, and into 8 fathom at 4, and into 9 fathom at 5½, and into 10 fathom at 7½ with the whole Culverin and Demiculverin; and 8 with a Sacar* and into 11 fathom at 10 degrees and into 12 fathom at 14 degrees elevation.—THOMAS MEDDOWS, Gunner.

The next entry exhibits the woful state of ignorance in which our forefathers were as regards free trade.

"August 1st. The following Proclamation was by beat of drum proclaimed at the several gates of the city. "Whereas of late several unreasonable and exacting people have made and engrossed quantities of bricks of the Right Honorable Company's clay without our license; notwithstanding which they take the advantage of their present occasion, and the necessity of the in-

* The Sacar, or Sacker, was a gun inferior in size to the Culverin, and about the same calibre as a Falcon, carrying a ball of from five to eight pounds.

habitants to finish and repair their houses before the rains, selling them insufferably dear to the ill example and prejudice of the place; to prevent which the future ill consequences thereof:—We, the Governor and Council, do hereby strictly forbid such exactions, ordering that no person whatever shall sell bricks within our Government for less than two thousand for one Pagoda, upon penalty of forfeiting the same; since at that rate they will be sufficient gainers."

Some time before this, President Yale succeeded in obtaining a Firmaun for the Factories under the superintendence of Fort St. George, but we need scarcely add that it was opposed by his Council. The war had continued raging between Aurungzebe and the Mahrattas. Aurungzebe had sent Zulfikar Khan, who had already distinguished himself in the war, to attempt the reduction of Gingee; appointing him at the same time to be Subadar of the whole district. Mr. Yale accordingly negociated with Zulfikar Khan, and the result may be gathered from the following extract.

"Translation of the Cowle or Firmaun of Nabob Zulfikar Khan Bahadoor, sent to the Hon'ble Elihu Yale, President and Governor, received the 28th December, 1690.

"Whereas in the time of the late shameless and faithless rebellion, the President of the English, Elihu Yale, Governor and Captain of Chinnapatanam, protected and assisted Mahmoud Ali and other servants of the Mogul, and supplied me with Powder with other services: in consideration whereof I made and given this my Cowle or grant,

That the rent of the Fort and Factory of Chinnapatanam with accustomary privileges, the English Factories of Metchlepatam, Maddapollam, Vizagapatam, etc. within the territories of the Golconda country, also their settlements and Factories of Devapatnam, Cuddalore, Pórto Novo, Trimlevassil, etc. within the territories of Ginjee, according to the former custom and the usual practice of the English, let it remain undisturbed in Sallabad."

During the following year a still more favourable arrangement offered itself, and was concluded. The Mogul's army had encamped in the neighbourhood of Ginjee, and Mr. Frenchfield and Mr. John Pitt were sent with a petition to the Vizier. Here the extracts will again explain themselves.

"Translation of the Petition presented to the Vizier Assid Khan, by order of the Hon'ble Elihu Yale and Council, in behalf of the Right Hon'ble Company, per Richard Frenchfield and John Pitt.*

"1. That we may receive the king's firmaun for our affairs, under the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapore.

"2. That the annual rent of Pagodas 1200 for Madras and Triplicane may be taken off.

"3. That Tandore, Pershawauk, and Egmore, three small towns near Madras, whose produce is about 300 Pagodas per annum, we desire may be given us as a gratuity to the Company rent free.

"4. That we may have liberty to coin rupees with the king's stamp at Madras.

"5. That at Vizagapatam the Poligars and

* Some uninteresting clauses are omitted.

thieves, killing our people and plundering our houses of a great amount in goods and money, we request that this may be considered of, and a small fortification be permitted us, that for the future we may live without fear."

On the receipt of the firmaun embodying the above clauses, a present of fifteen thousand rupees was to be given to Zulfikar Khân. On the 19th April, 1692, Mr. Frenchfield and Mr. Pitt with Native ambassadors arrived from Gingee at Madras, with the firmaans which are far too many and lengthy to be recapitulated here, but which seem to have been in accordance with the petition. Presents were exchanged, guns were fired, and Mr. President Yale arrayed himself in a habit sent by the Mogul, and rode horse in that guise "the more to honour and please the Prince and his people that accompanied the firmaans and nishans, who take particular notice and account of all such actions." Translations of the several documents are given at full length in the consultation books, but would prove too tedious to the general reader to permit of our reproducing them here.

We now have to notice the early Missionary efforts of the Court of Directors, to which allusion has already been made. From a General Letter, dated 18th February 1691, and evidently from the pen of Sir Josiah Child, we make the following extract.

"We would likewise desire our President Mr. Yale, whom God hath blessed with so great an estate in our service, to set on foot another gene-

rous charitable work before he leaves India, that is, the building of a Church for the Protestant black people and Portuguese, and the slaves which serve them, who have now no place to hear the word of God preached in a language they understand, and therefore are necessitated to go to the Popish Churches. Whereas if they had God's word preached to them in the Portuguese language, according to the Potestant Doctrine, and the Prayers of the Church of England, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish Chapels. In order hereunto we shall get our Common Prayers, and other Offices of our Church, translated into the Portuguese tongue, and send you some written copies thereof, after which when your Church is built, and you have corrected the copies we send you to the Portuguese dialect of India, and returned one copy to us with the amendments, we will cause it to be printed here, and return you divers printed copies thereof; and not only so but we will send you what benevolence we can collect here for the ornament of the Church intended. In the mean time we are now inquiring after some able Minister that can preach in the Portuguese tongue; and also a Domine as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our Prayers in Portuguese."

Again, on the 22nd January 1692, the following advice was transmitted to Fort St. George, by the Court of Directors.

"We shall send you by the following ship two Ministers who have applied themselves to the learn-

ing of the Portuguese languages, and have made considerable progress therein; we designing them to be Ministers for the new Portuguese church which we have desired you to cause to be built by the bounty of such as shall be inclined to forward so good a work. Both Ministers are sober, able, and learned men."

Early in 1692 the Court of Directors determined on sending out Sir John Goldsborough as Governor General, to act as first member of council at the different settlements in India. It would seem from the following extract, as though orders for the suspension of Mr. Yale had already been sent out. The General Letter is dated 22nd January, 1692.

"Mr. Yale, our late President, we would have continue at Madras until the arrival of our supervisor, Captain Goldsborough; that all differences may be fairly adjusted there by the wisdom and moderation of Captain Goldsborough; and that upon Mr. Yale's return hither we may have nothing to say to him but to bid him welcome home."

The following extracts from a General Letter dated 22nd January, 1692, from the Directors to the Agency at Fort St. George will explain themselves.

"We have desired Captain Goldsborough to go in hand immediately with the building of a steeple to your Church, with the money collected for that purpose, according to dimensions given him; and by our next ship we intend to send you a ring of six tunable Bells to fix in our steeple, which the founder tells us cannot be cast at this season of the year."

"We have discoursed Sir John Goldsborough

about enlarging our Christian town to a Quadrangle, so as it may be done without detriment to the Company, with handsome stone bridges over the River; in which designed new moiety of the city, one Quarter of that moiety may be set apart for the Armenian Christians to build a new Church (for the worship of God according to their own Rites), at their charge, with stone and other durable materials, and also convenient dwelling houses for their merchants, they paying as such ground rents as will fully defray our charges. And that Quarter so set apart for their use you may call "Julpha," that being the town from whence Shak Abbas the Great brought them, when he conquered Armenia, and settled them in a suburb of his new made metropolitan city of Ispahan, and called the Quarter he allotted there to the Armenians "Julpha," the name of the city from whence he brought them, and they are increased there to be the richest people and most expert merchants in the universe."

"We being now in full peace, would have but two full Companies of soldiers maintained there besides what inferior force you may think fit to raise of Cofferies; and in those two Companies we would be at no further charge of Officers, but only of Lieutenants and Ensigns, Sarjeants and Corporals, Captains being needless in times of peace. But you may entertain an aid Major, who is to have no Company, but to Superintend over all our officers and soldiers, under the Command of our Commissary General when he is present, and under our President when our Commissary

General is absent. This is the Dutch method in all their Garrisons in India, and it is the best that can be invented in peaceable times. Our aid Major, Captain Hilton, at Bombay, hath four shillings a day, besides twenty shillings a month as aid Major; and that we resolve shall be his standing pay, and the standing pay of all aid Major's in India in every garrison where there is need of such officers.

"But we would have you by all means to keep on foot your Troop of Volunteer horse, and to increase the number of them, under the immediate command of our President; and our Artillery Company of all the Company's English servants under the command of Captain Thomas Grey. And sometimes for recreation we would have you to exercise both horse and foot in the field, that the men may be perfect in the use of their arms, and the horses be used to abide the sound of Drums, Trumpets, and report of Guns, without starting. Being always in such a posture of defence, is a sure way to preserve your peace, and draw esteem and report, honour and obedience from the natives, with little or no charge to the Company."

The following extract from the consultation book, describes the final retirement of Mr. Yale from the Governorship.

"Wednesday, 23rd October, 1692. Ship Berkely Castle came into this road, and at one o'clock the Purser brought ashore the Hon'ble Company's packet, and a General Letter from Sir John Goldesborough, advising that a duplicate of Mr. Hig-

ginson's Commission was contained therein, who immediately gave notice thereof to President Yale advising him to meet at the Fort at three o'clock, when the packet being opened a duplicate of said Commission was found therein; and the Hon'ble Company's servants and commissioned officers being called up was publicly read before them, and after the usual ceremonies Governor Yale delivered the keys of the garrison and city to President Higginson, and a General Letter was returned by the Purser to the Hon'ble Sir John Goldesborough to give him advice thereof."

Sir John Goldesborough landed in Madras on the 5th December, 1692, and was sworn in as first member of council.

The close of the governorship of President Yale, offers a favourable opportunity for reviewing the progress of the Black-town of Madraspatanam, and the White-town of Fort St. George. It appears from a letter dated 12th December, 1687, that the population of the whole of the English Presidency, including the city of Madras, the town of Fort St. George, and the villages within the Company's bounds, amounted to three hundred thousand) and a more exact enumeration was then required to be made, for the information of James II, distinguishing the English, Portuguese, Moors, and Gentoos, both male and female, and their several professions, or occupations. Whether this more exact enumeration was ever made, we have not as yet been able to discover; but the statement of the aggregate population will be sufficient for all general purposes.

As regards the population at Fort St. George, or White-town, we have the most minute information. In a previous chapter it was shown how White Town was only half the size of the modern Fort. In the seventeenth century the river Coom ran much nearer the sea than at present. In fact it ran parrallel with the Coast right through the centre of the site now occupied by the present Fort. In the last century, the channel of the river was diverted into its present course, and the Fort considerably enlarged.

The old Fort or White-town, only extended about 400 yards in length, from north to south parallel with the sea; and about 100 yards from east to west, that is from the sea to the old channel of the river. This little space was however divided into twelve streets and alleys, and included altogether one hundred and twenty-nine dwelling houses and godowns, producing altogether a yearly rental of only one hundred and twenty-four Pagodas, and nine fanams. The streets were respectively named—Middle Street, Choultry Street, Choultry Alley, Gloucester Street, York Street, York Lane, Charles Street, James Street, James Alley, St. Thomas Street, St. Thomas Lane, and Church Street. As a matter of local curiosity we print the following Directory or Rent Roll, verbatim et literatim, of which the original may be found in the consultation book under the 2nd of August, 1688. Some of our readers may here find the names of their ancestors, probably spelt in a different manner to those of their descendants.

"Rent Rowle of Dwelling Houses, Goedowns, etc.

within the Garrison or Christian Town, with the names of their several Owners, Tenants, and Yearly Rents.

MIDDLE STREET.

| *Owner.* | *Tenant.* | *Rent.* Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Honorable President Yale's House ... | | 3 | : — |
| Captain James Betts house... .. | | 1 | : 18 |
| Martad Consason : ..... | William Dixon... | — | : 27 |
| Paul Cardozo... ... ... ... | | — | : 27 |
| Padre Ephraim's... .. ... ... | | — | : 28 |
| Martin Lope's . . .. ... . | | 1 | : — |
| Mr. John Affiack ... . . ... .. | | 2 | : — |
| Richard Monk . ... | John Strangway... | 1 | : — |
| Widow Heathfield... ... ... ... | | 2 | : — |
| Mr. Peter Large... ... ... ... | | 1 | : 18 |
| Mrs. Ursula O'Neal... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| Mr. Affiack : ... | Mrs. Ursula O'Neal... | 1 | : 18 |
| Mr. Affiack : .... . | Mr. Troughton ... | 1 | : — |
| | Pags. | 17 | : 28 |

CHOWLTRY STREET.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Monk's house ... ... .. | 2 | : — |
| John Coventry... ... ... ... | 1 | : 18 |
| Como Lorenso... ... ... ... ... | 1 | : 18 |
| Emmanuel Morley ... Widow Haddock | 1 | : 18 |
| Emmanuel Morley ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Padre Theodosia... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Mr. John Nicks. . ... . Sir John Biggs... | 2 | : — |
| ... . . ... ... John Hill..... | 2 | : — |
| Thomas Greenhill ... ... ... .. | 1 | : 18 |
| John Parera ... ... ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Pags. | 14 | : 18 |

CHOWLTRY ALLEY.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Joan Lopus ... .. ... ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Ditto .. ... Ana d'Andrada. | 1 | . — |

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nath : Bonus.. ... | Gab : Roberts... | 1 | 18 |
| Ditto ... ... | John Voter ... | — | 27 |
| Ditto ... ... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Charles Metcalf. . ... ... ... | | 2 | — |
| John Callender ... ... ... ... | | 1 | — |
| | Pags. | 8 | 18 |

GLOUCESTER STREET.

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Panchecu Viera .. | Mrs. Field ... | — | 27 |
| Mr. Henry Alford ... | ... ... ... | 2 | — |
| Arthur Tilbury ... | .. ... ... | — | 27 |
| Madam Pavia ... | Mr. Alford ... | 1 | — |
| | Pags. | 4 | 18 |

YORK STREET.

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Miller ... | Panchecu Viera ... | — | 27 |
| Panchecu Viera ... | Padre Lopus ... | — | 27 |
| Ditto ... ... | Andre Garnast ... | 1 | — |
| Ditto ... ... | Frans Tessera ... | — | 18 |
| Ditto ... ... | Marmid Consasou... | — | 18 |
| John Inch ... .. | ... ... ... | 1 | — |
| Renou Perera .. | ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Tilman Holt.. ... | ... ... ... ... | 1 | — |
| John de Soza ... | ... ... .. | — | 27 |
| Domingoer Mendes ... | ... ... ... | 1 | — |
| Mr. Mead... ... | John Meverell... | — | 27 |
| Mr Mead ... ... | ... ... ... | 1 | 18 |
| Monsieur Chardin | ... ... ... | 2 | — |
| Martha de Consason... | ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| | Pags. | 12 | 27 |

YORK LANE.

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| William Dixon ... ... | Mr. Glover | 2 | — |
| Domingo Joan,... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Emmanuel Rosaira... ... ... ... | | — | 27 |
| Mary Ware ... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Emmanuel Rosaira... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Mr. Miller .. ... Amu Dunkly | | — | 27 |
| Jane Taylor ... ... ... .. | | — | 27 |
| Widow Ryley ... ... ... ... | | — | 27 |
| Mr. Freeman's Godown ... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| | Pags. | 7 | : 18 |

CHARLES STREET.

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. William Jearsey .. ... ... | | 2 | : 18 |
| Mr. Jearsey's several Godowns ... | | 1 | : — |
| Mr. Bridger... ... ... ... ... | | 1 | : 18 |
| Mr. Bridger ... ... Mr. Mose | | 1 | : 18 |
| Mr. Bridger... ... ...Mr. Constable | | 1 | : 18 |
| Mr. John Davis... ... Mr. Styleman | | 1 | : 18 |
| Mr. Bridger's Godown ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Mr. Bridger ... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Mr. Bridger ... Mr. Parkers Childn. | | — | 18 |
| Robert Bulfield, a Godown ... ... | | — | 18 |
| | Pags. | 11 | : 18 |

JAMES STREET.

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gimar Peniora ... ... ... .. | | — | 18 |
| Joseph Perera ... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Mr. Gray Smith's Godown ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Robert Ray Mr. ... ... Mr. Pitt | | 1 | : 18 |
| Robert Ray ... ... ... ... | | — | 27 |
| Pois ... .. .. ... | | 1 | : — |
| Alexander Woodall ... ... .. | | — | 18 |
| Mr. Bridger's Godown ... Prt. Gyfford | | — | 18 |
| Phillipa .. ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Thatcher ... .. .. | | — | 18 |
| Black Franck ... ... Padre Bastian | | — | 18 |
| Robert Bulfield ... ... ... ... | | — | 27 |

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Maria de Sure... .. ... ... | — | 18 |
| Company's Merchants Godowns ... ... | 3 | : — |
| Nicholas Westborough ... ... | — | 18 |
| Pois new Hospital ... ... | — | 27 |
| Pois ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Forrow ... ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Padre Lorenz Parera... .. ... | — | 18 |
| Sicillia Mendes ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Maria Madera... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Pags. | 15 | : 9 |

JAMES ALLEY.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Antony Caldera ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Thomas de Clara... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Lisu de Cuni... ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Antonio Rosada .. ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Alexander Woodall... ... John Moor... | — | 18 |
| Bastian Severa... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Attesa Reposa ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Theodosius Gregory ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| John Parera... ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Matthias de Silva ... ... ... | — | 18 |

ST. THOMAS STREET.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| John Stevenson... ... ... Mr. Liddell,... | 1 | : 18 |
| Nichola de Silva.. ... ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Tarnantony... ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Mrs. Griffiths... ... Mr. Cheney | 1 | : 18 |
| Senora Alvada ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Emmanuel de Silva ... Jas. Meelenen | — | 27 |
| Ditto .. ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| President Yale, a Godown ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Maria Zebo... ... ... ... ... | — | 11 |
| Pasquall Gallon .. ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| President Yale .. ... ... ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Emtanuel Navis. ... ... ... | 1 | : — |

| | | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Romber Ray... ... ... ... ... | | — | 27 |
| John Baptista .. ... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| Bernardo Medows ... Mr. Barron | | 1 | : — |
| Antonio Qualis... ... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| Clara Botalia... ... ... ... ... | | — | 18 |
| Gaspar de Monte... ... Mr. Betsworth | | 2 | : — |
| Mr. Gray, a Godown.. ... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| Padre Salvadore... ... Mr. Ivory | | 1 | : — |
| Joan de Coasta ... ... ... ... | | 1 | : — |
| | Pags. | 20 | : 0 |

ST. THOMAS LANE.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Donna Issabella ... ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| . . . . Pois ... ... Elizabeth Poulter | — | 27 |
| Emmanuel Vass ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Duarty Figarado ... ... ... | — | 18 |
| Pags.... | 2 | : 18 |

CHURCH STREET.

| | Pags. | Fans. |
|---|---|---|
| Antony Gonsalis ... ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Donna Phillippa ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| Catherena Passania ... ... ... | — | 27 |
| John Stevenson ... ... ... | 1 | : — |
| Mr. Rodrigoes ... ... Mr. Burton | 1 | : — |
| Pags... | 4 | : 9 |

The sanitary condition of this crowded little settlement may be inferred from the following startling announcement for the year 1688.

"Christenings this year..... 11
Marriages this year..... 13
Burials this year..... 101

## CHAPTER XII.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

### 1692—1698.

The accession of President Higginson, followed up closely as it was by the arrival of Sir John Goldsborough as Commissary General, seems to have been a great event in the history of Madras. The Consultation books are once more filled with incidents of general interest, and are no longer encumbered with the records of an obsolete quarrel. In other respects the retirement of Mr. Yale was followed by the usual results. He was compelled to remain in Madras until all the claims of the Company were settled; but he was not prosecuted with the severity which was practised towards some of his predecessors.

The history of the first year of Mr. Higginson's administration is marked by many incidents. The progress of the war between the Great Mogul and the Mahrattas is largely illustrated; and the matter now published for the first time, will be of value to all future historians. Then we have some notices of the capture of Pondicherry by the Dutch; also a curious account of the first possession of Egmore and Pursewaukum by the Agency

at Fort St. George; together with some interesting notices of the Roman Catholic Church in this country, and the relation of the Bishop of St. Thomé to the English Government. These are combined with domestic incidents which serve to throw additional light upon the lives and manners of our predecessors in this Presidency, and which we shall continue to arrange as nearly as possible in chronological order, leaving our extracts in many cases to tell their own story.

The first incident relates to a strong minded lady of the olden time, and as it contains a slight flavour of scandal, like the sensation of onions in Sidney Smith's salad, it will still be read with interest.

"Tuesday, 20th December, 1692. John Dolben, Esq., Judge Advocate, acquaints that information hath been given in before him against Mrs. Katherine Nicks of several notorious frauds by her committed in Connimere, whilst her husband was Chief there; particularly that during the late investment, she caused the Right Hon'ble Company's godowns to be broke open, and forcibly took from thence great quantities of cloth of the first sort, which she applied to Mr. Elihu Yale's private use, who was then President; notwithstanding the Merchants declared that the said cloth was brought in upon the Company's account, and positively refused to consent that it should be otherwise applied.

"That upon this he (the Judge Advocate) wrote her a letter requiring her, being a woman notoriously known to be a separate Merchant from her

husband, to put in bail to answer the damages the Hon'ble Company had sustained by her illegal proceedings; which she not complying with, he issued out a warrant to arrest her. But she refusing to obey, was returned in contempt; he therefore prays the assistance of the military power to secure her in her house, being under suspicion that she designs privately to fly from justice.

"Ordered that the Captain of the Guard do send a file of Musqueteers with a Corporal to the house of Mrs. Katherine Nicks, who are to obey such orders as the Judge Advocate shall think fit to give."

The kindness of Mrs. Nicks towards Mr. Yale was not appreciated by his successor. The lady was forced to submit and pay up for the cloth she had taken; and shortly afterwards returned to England.

The war between Aurungzebe and the Mahrattas was still lingering in the Dekkan. The army of the Mogul was beseiging Ginjee, at that time occupied by Rama Rajah and the Mahrattas. But the siege languished, and one of the generals of the Mogul's army, named Alimerdy Khan, was taken prisoner by the Mahrattas; and many of the Mogul's officers fled to Madras as appears from the following entry.

"Saturday, 17th December, 1692. There being, upon the defeat of Alimerdy Khan lately received from the Mahrattas, several of his Officers and other persons of good quality, privately fled hither for good security: it is thought convenient that they be used very kindly while they lie in dis-

guise, and treated with small presents of necessaries as the President shall find necessary and requisite: some of them being persons that may prove useful to the Right Honorable Company's affairs, not only to the Vizier but to the Mogul himself."

Subsequently an attempt was made to induce the Madras Government to become security for the payment of the ransom for Alimerdy Khan.

"Friday, 23rd December, 1692. The President acquainting us that this morning Cojee Gregorio (an Armenian merchant) came to him, and told him that he had received a letter from Pulicat from the brother in law of Alimerdy Khan (the Nabob lately taken by the Mahrattas and imprisoned in Gingee) to signify the Mahrattas having offered Alimerdy Khan his liberty for a lak of Pagodas; he does in the Nabob's name desire that the Governor of Madras would receive jewels and money to that amount into his custody, and then write to Rama Rajah engaging to pay that sum to his order upon the arrival of Alimerdy Khan in Madras; for which purpose a letter is written to the President, but it being a matter of great moment, the President has only put off the receiving of the letter, and the returning of any answer, till resolved in consultation how to act; and it is resolved not to commit ourselves in that affair."

About a month afterwards Cojee Abanus and Cojee Gregorio, Armenians resident in Madras, made another effort to induce the Government of Fort St. George to interest themselves in the release of Alimerdy Khan, by engaging to see the

amount of ransom paid to Rama Rajah, on the arrival of Alimerdy Khan at Madras. It seemed however very probable that when Alimerdy Khan reached Madras, he would demand his own immediate release in the name of his master the Mogul; whilst the Presidency would be responsible for the amount of ransom to Rama Rajah and the Mahrattas. Accordingly the Presidency still persisted in its policy of non-intervention; but the following entry in the consultation book is worthy of record.

"It does appear that these Armenians have a correspondence with the Mogul's officers, and to serve themselves in strengthening their own interest would draw so great an inconvenience upon the Right Honorable Company, by engaging us to intermeddle in such an affair."

Meantime, the army of the Mogul was commanded by the Nabob Zulfikar Khan; by Assad Khan, father of Zulfikar Khan and Vizier to Aurungzebe; and by Prince Cambakhsh, who appears in the records under the barbarous name of Cawn Bux, a name which we have taken the liberty to reproduce in a modern form suitable to the eyes of those who are familiar with the modern historians of India. The following entry throws some light upon the state of the Mogul's army.

"Monday, 30th January, 1693. Lewis Forrill, one of the Soldiers that went up with Emam Cooley six months since to serve Zulfikar Khan in the siege of Gingee, returning, and with this account. That two months since, Zulfikar Khan ordered to split all the Great Guns, and the brass

Guns that were sent from hence for presents; which he supposes was occasioned by the Mogul's death, whereof he heard report.* That at the same time Cawn Bux attempting to go over to Rama Rajah, was seized by Zulfikar Khan, and ever since kept prisoner. That the camp being reduced to extreme want of provisions for men and cattle, so that if they had stayed longer they would have been starved, they made a truce with Rama Rajah for twenty-four hours, in which time Zulfikar Khan removed to Wandewash, but for want of camels and oxen was forced to leave much of their baggage behind to the discretion of the Mahrattas, which gave occasion to the report that a peace was made. Whereas the Mahratta army watches and follows the motion of the Mogul's army; so that the issue of the war remains very uncertain.'

The following extracts, referring to the great Pagodas of Black Town and Triplicane, will be interesting to our local antiquarians.

"Thursday, 29th December, 1692. The Gentoo Pagoda in the Black Town, being built by Timina the former Chief Merchant, and from that time kept in repair and maintained by the Chief Merchants, who also received the custom of the said Gentoo Pagoda, voluntarily paid by all but Europe nations and Armenians, wherewith they ordered the maintenance of their Brahmins, etc.: and also the more famous Pagoda of Triplicane, which is

* The retreat from Gingee was not caused by the death of Aurungzebe, an event which did not take place until 1707, but by the dissensions between Cambakhsh and Zulfikar Khan.

mentioned in one of the King of Golconda's firmauns, dated the 23rd February, 1676, to be granted to the Company, which was obtained at the special instance of Verona, and hath been ever since under the management and care of our Chief Merchants, who applied the profit of the adjacent grounds to the maintenance of their Brahmins, etc.; amount yearly to from Pagodas fifty to seventy, until lately President Yale took both the said Pagodas out of the hands of the Chief Merchants, and made Rangia Chetty, Collavimatadre, and Child Conacoply the Overseer and Governor of the Pagodas. Though nothing doth appear in any Consultation of the reason which moved President Yale to do it. Since which time the inhabitants have entertained jealousies of diabolical arts practised in those Pagodas against some of the merchants and Sheah party. The Merchants being present it was declared to them that for their encouragement and the better satisfaction of the inhabitants, we do give them liberty to make the same use of their Pagodas, and to receive the same Income from both as formerly; but reserve to ourselves the power of recalling that liberty when we shall see cause. And also that the ground belonging, as they say, to Triplicane, is to be disposed of by us to such inhabitants as we shall think fit to settle there; and that it is not in their power to lay any tax upon such inhabitants without our consent. And further, that they are to give an account yearly on every New Year's day of the account of the Incomes of Triplicane and how the same does arise."

Our next extract refers to the arrangement of Church sittings, which has evidently been a delicate matter from time immemorial.

"Wednesday, 4th January, 1693. It is ordered that the Churchwardens do herewith cause a handsome seat to be made in the Church for the Mayor, next below the Clerk's desk in the said aisle, with a place for a Mace to lie on each side of him best to be seen. And that the Mayor's wife be placed next below him on the same side. And take care to seat those Gentlewomen, that will be displaced by that means, where best it may be to their content, having due regard to their qualities."

The arrangements as regards the payment of sea customs and clearing out ships were much the same then as now; but some strange laws were in force, as the reader will now see.

"Wednesday, 4th January, 1693. The Right Hon'ble Company have made it a law in their City and Port of Madras, that all goods exported or imported (their own goods, and all jewels, plate, and money only excepted) shall pay towards the charges of the Garrison and Fortification five per cent Custom." Here follow the rules for collecting the Customs and for clearing out ships, of no interest now. The following regulation however is curious.

"And all ships or vessels that shall go away out of the Road, before they have paid all duties and cleared out of the custom house, as is appointed, shall be forfeited, one half to the Right Hon'ble Company, and the other half to the seizer, suing for and condemning the same in the Admiralty

Court. And the Customer, or his Deputy, shall use all means to stop them,—by ordering the gunner to fire at them without farther order from the Governor. And after the first shot, to hit them if they can. And in case the ship cannot be stopped or afterward seized the master shall stand fined for a thousand Pagodas, to be sued for and recovered in the Admiralty Court before, when and wherever he can be taken or come at, or his estate."

Our next extract shows that Mr. Yale had got into difficulty in the matter of walling Black Town.

"Saturday, 14th January, 1693. The Commissary General (Sir John Goldsborough), finding the mud Points and Walls about the Black Town cost several thousand Pagodas, and that Governor Yale had made them at the Right Hon'ble Company's charge against their positive order and the most of the Council's express exceptions,—did desire Judge Dolben to make demand of President Yale for three thousand four hundred and eighty-three Pagodas with interest, being the cost of them and of a Physic Garden. Judge Dolben returns answer that he hath demanded the same, and that President Yale saith he hath not done anything of that nature, but what was either ordered by the Right Hon'ble Company or agreed to by the Council, or of absolute necessity, and desires to be heard about it before any farther demand be made."

The next entry will explain itself.

"Thursday, 19th January, 1693. There being complaints made by Taliars and Peons appointed to watch the Black Town, that many people, in-

habitants and strangers, do walk up and down in the streets all night, which is the occasion of many disorders, thefts, and violences committed:—it is ordered that to-morrow morning the Choultry Justices do cause the Tom Tom to be beat through all the streets of the Black Town, forbidding all persons to walk in the streets after eleven of the clock at night, under penalty of one pagoda to be paid into the Choultry, or severe corporal punishment, as the Justices shall think fit.

The following notices are interesting as illustrative of the form of Hindoo oaths.

"Wednesday, 25th January, 1693. Judge Dolben reports from the Admiralty Court that in a trial this day between the Right Hon'able Company and the late President Yale and others for wrongs and damages done them, that the said late President has objected against the manner of giving the Gentoo oath, by the usual ceremony of fetching water and flowers from the Pagoda into Court, affirming that there was a late order of consultation by which the ceremony of taking Gentoo oaths was for the future established to be done before the Pagoda. Upon which report we have made enquiry of Choultry Justices and members of Council, who all declared the way of swearing the Gentoos hath been in the Court before the Jury, by causing water and flowers to be brought from the Pagoda; the flowers are put upon their heads, and they drink some of the water before or in the Court; and both are given and done by the Brahmin of the Pagoda, and in the presence of the eternal

God who they believe in a more particular manner to be in all Courts of Justice, are required to speak the truth. . . . We likewise sent for a dozen or fourteen of the ancient Brahmin priests, the most eminent in the place, and asked them of the same matter, who all unanimously gave it as their opinion and knowledge that this is the way of their own Gentoo Government, swearing witnesses in the Carnatic country, when evidence was not believed without an oath; but that their Governor did never send or force any of them to be sworn at the Pagoda, but did cause water and flowers to be brought from thence and swear them in Court: for, say they, what is the Pagoda? it is an Image or Stone: where a Governor is, there is God; where ten men are, there God is present. . . . We therefore order the continuance of this way of swearing."

The following proceedings in the Court of Admiralty are amusing enough.

"Thursday, 18th May, 1693. Judge Dolben reports from the Admiralty Court that Captain Freke having a cause determined there between the Right Hon'ble Company and himself, about 50 tons of lead of the Right Hon'ble Company laden in England, which the said Captain refused to deliver according to Charter party; Captain Freke flew out into scurrilous language against the Government here, and the authority and justice of the Court, upon which the Judge gave him a civil caution to be more moderate. But when the decree of the Court was pronounced against him, and an appeal which he tendered was rejected, he

repeated his scurrilous expressions, viz. that he had behaved himself like a man, and was used like a beast; that he knew before he came he should have no justice here, but would have it in another place; upon which the Judge ordered him to be taken into custody, which the officer going to do, he cocking his hat laid his hand upon his sword, and turning upon the Court in that posture said, that in England he was as good a man as Judge Dolben though not here, holding up his hand in a threatening posture, swore he should meet him there where he could have satisfaction; upon which the Judge, seeing the Captain of the Guard present in Court, ordered him to take him and carry him to the Cock house, but sent the crier after him and ordered him to be secured in the Fort, Since which two days ago Captain Freke came to the Commissary of his own accord all alone, and said his ship was in danger by one cable being broke and the other wanting servis. The Commissary told him the best way to secure the ship would be to set himself at liberty by acknowledging his error in Court, and asking pardon of the Court and Judge. To which he replied, he never would do it as long as he had breath in his body, with many vindications of himself and expressions of invetcracy."

Captain Freke subsequently submitted, but sent in a protest which is still on record.

We may here mention that the Commissary Sir John Goldsborough proceeded to Fort St. David in June 1693, and returned in July. Shortly after-

wards he again proceeded along the coast, and died suddenly in November the same year.

From the next entry we learn that Alimerdy Khan had obtained his release from Gingee.

"Friday, 4th August, 1693. A Dutch ship with the Mogul's flag on the maintop mast head, passing by this road, two Dutchmen came ashore from Nabob Alimerdy Khan to give notice that he was upon the ship going for Pulicat. And the ship firing 13 guns, the Fort answered as many, in respect to the Nabob. And his brother-in-law Ali Caldera, (who has for six months past resided here) coming to the President for leave to go off to the Nabob, the President desired him to take with him two chests of Rose water, and present to the Nabob. His releasement has cost him 300,000 Rupees, thereof the Dutch have remitted part by Bill of Exchange."

The next extract will explain itself.

"Wednesday, 16th August, 1693. Percolla Chinna Warka having obtained Zulfikar Khan his Perwanna for the Government of Trivatore and Tripatore, countries adjacent, called in his way to see his family (whom he has kept here two or three years) and visiting the President, do assure him that Assad Khan is alive and well, and in the king's favour, notwithstanding all the current reports to the contrary. And on the 11th instant, Mahmood Aniffe, Zulfikar Khan his adopted son about twenty years of age, coming here with fifty horse and a hundred peons, to take his pleasure and see the place. It being judged necessary to treat him civilly, in respect to Zulfikar Khan, we

appointed him the Garden for the accommodation of himself and servants; and he sending word that he designs to take his leave to-day, and to depart to-morrow, the warehousekeeper is ordered out of the stores to get ready a present to be made him of such things as may be best spared, viz. 1 Tonquen chest with 6 cases of Dressing Boxes, and 6 Bemdezas, 2 small prospective glasses, 2 looking glasses, 1 pair Pistols, 1 piece of China silk, 1 wax Image in glass and 2 glass globes, 1 chest Rosewater, 5 Swords, 2 Pictures covered with glass."

The siege and capture of Pondicherry by the Dutch is thus noticed.

"Monday, 21st August, 1693. Received a general letter from Fort St. David dated the 18th instant, advising that the Dutch had landed several great guns and three mortar pieces, and were raising batteries against Pondicherry Fort, but had not as yet fired any shot; and that Governor Pitt had sent to Monsieur Martin to surrender their Fort, which might prevent the shedding of much blood, but he returned this answer that he was there to defend it for his king's glory, and their own honour, which he was resolved to do to the last drop of his blood."

Pondicherry was taken a few days afterwards, and a congratulatory letter was accordingly sent to Heer Pitt, the Dutch Governor of Pulicat, by the Agency of Fort St. George.

The next entries illustrate the early progress of Roman Catholic Missionaries in this country.

"Monday, 28th August, 1693. Padre Don

John de Clerici delivering a Petition as entered next after this consultation, and also producing to us his letters Missionary from Don Salvador Gallus, Prefect of the Regular Priests at Goa, by which it does appear that he is not dependent upon the Padre Governadore at the Mount; and the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David having in their general letter, dated 18th instant, expressed themselves satisfied in the character they have received; it is agreed that a license be granted unto the said Padre Clerici to officiate at Cuddalore in the room of Padre Paulo, who was before appointed from hence, but is lately removed from thence to Porto Novo by the order of the Padre Governadore of the Mount."

"To the Honorable Nathaniel Higginson, Esq., President and Governor of Fort St. George, Fort St. David, etc., and Council.

The Humble Petition of Padre Don John de Clerici.

Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner is a Priest of the order of the Theatine Missionaries, by which being obliged to travel into remote countries to endeavour the conversion of Infidels to the Christian faith, your Petitioner humbly requests your Honour, etc., that he may by you be appointed the Padre Resident of Cuddalore for the service of the Portuguese inhabitants of that place; which employment he will to the utmost of his power endeavour to perform with all loyalty and fidelity to the Hon'ble Company and their interest, and to the satisfaction of

your Honour, etc. for whom as in duty bound he shall ever pray.—D. JOHN DE CLERICI."

In the following December the worthy Padre returned to Madras with his license. The story will be interesting to all our Roman-Catholic readers. We quote from an entry dated 16th December.

"Padre Clerici returning hither from Fort St. David, bringing with him the license formerly granted him, and alleging that not understanding the English language, he was not sensible of the import of some articles, which upon consideration he finds directly contrary to the strict rules of his order, and that his acceptance thereof will render him liable to the ecclesiastical censure of his superiors, and therefore chooses rather to leave that place and repair to Madapollam, whither he is invited to succeed the Padre lately deceased, than to accept. But it not being thought convenient to alter the articles upon his objections, and yet more requisite to admit him at Cuddalore, than either a French or Portuguese Padre, he being of a different order and nation from them both:—it is agreed that Padre Clerici be permitted to reside there, and perform the office of a Priest so long as he shall behave himself well, and that the matter of the articles be further referred to his Excellency the Commissary General's coming, and that a letter to that effect be writ to the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David, which Padre Clerici being acquainted with was contented therewith, and delivered up his former license."

The honest Padre died a few months afterwards,

a circumstance which gave rise to a slight discussion between the Bishop of St. Thomé and the Presidency at Fort St. George regarding the power of nominating a successor. On the 11th February 1694, the following letter from the Bishop was received by Mr. Higginson.

"SIR,—Whereas I arrived in this place but a few days since, I had no time to come and kiss your Honour's hands, to whom I wish long life and health, for the relief of the Portuguese who live in these parts.

"I have had advice that Padre Don John, whom the Governor my predecessor placed near Cuddalore, is deceased, and whereas I determine to send to that Church Padre Paulo de Saa who has been there; and to content the English gentlemen there I would not do it without advising your Honour thereof, whom I believe will approve of my election.

"If I am worthy of serving your Honour, I am ready to obey your will whom God keep.

I kiss your Honour's hands,

FRYER RAYMUNDO DE MERVAIS.

The President did not approve of a Vicar being appointed in a place under the English by the Bishop of St. Thomé. Moreover he preferred Padre Gulielmus a Valle, who belonged to the order of the Theatines. Accordingly he directed the Presidency at Cuddalore to order Padre Paulo to cease from executing his priestly functions within the English boundaries; and dispatched the following letter to the Bishop of St. Thomé.

"Reverend Sir,

I received your letter dated 11th February,

wherein you advise me that you determine to send Padre Paulo de Saa in the room of Padre Don John, whom the Governor your predecessor had placed Vicar at Cuddalore. I acknowledge your civility in giving me notice of your determination; but admire at your usurpation of an authority which did not belong to your predecessor, nor to yourself nor successors, viz. to appoint Vicars in any place under the English government. You have made a wrong account, and if you would reckon right you must begin again. In this case I ought to deal plainly with you, that no foreign Episcopal authority can be admitted within the limits of our jurisdiction, and that you are not Governor or Bishop of Cuddalore no more than of Madras. But as your reverence is Bishop or Governor of Meliapore, I congratulate your accession to that authority, and desire and embrace your friendly and neighbourly correspondence; in pursuance of which I acquaint your reverence that I have determined to permit Padre Gulielmus a Valle, of the order of the Theatines, to reside at Cuddalore, in the room of Padre Don John de Clerici deceased. I am your friend and servant,

NATHANIEL HIGGINSON."

The following incident is worthy of record so far as it is strange.

"Wednesday, 30th August, 1693. Word being brought us while at Consultation on the 28th instant, that Mr. Wheeler, Member of Council and Sea Customer and Chief Justice of the Choultry, was very sick, and soon after about 11 o'clock

that he was dead, we went forthwith to his house, and appointed Mr. Mildmay and Mr. Vander Anker to take account of the Right Honorable Companies' books and papers which were in Mr. Wheeler's hands; but on the way thither the following note was delivered into the hand of the President.

Honorable Sir,—I have murdered Mr Wheeler, by giving him arsenic. Please to execute Justice on me the malefactor as I deserve. Your Honour's unfortunate obedient Servant, SAMUEL BROWNE.

"Whereupon Doctor Browne after examination, and his particular relation of the circumstances of his fatal mistake, was by warrant of the Judge Advocate committed, as also his servant, who negligently powdered pearl in a stone mortar wherein arsenic had been before beaten, the mixture whereof with the pearl is supposed to be the occasion of his death; and there being symptoms of poison, Doctor Bulkley, the Surgeon of the Hospital, was ordered to open the corpse and make his report.

"Yesterday at eight o'clock in the forenoon Mr. James Wheeler was buried, with the solemnity accustomed for his high station."

The following report of Dr. Bulkley will be interesting to our medical readers.

"May it please your Honour with the Worshipful Council.

According to your orders I did on Monday the 28th instant in the afternoon open the dead body of Mr. James Wheeler about five hours after his death, and upon viewing the viscera or bowels, found them not much altered from their natural

temper and colour. The parts that seemed to suffer most were the stomach and intestines, which were a little inflamed, and almost wholly bared and stripped of the mucous or slimy covering with which those parts are commonly invested. The lungs also were a little inflamed. The blood that I gathered out of several vessels all appeared blacker than usual. But the suddenness of his death, and the severe symptoms he laboured under before he died, were greater arguments of poison received, than anything I could trace out by dissection. This from, Sir, Your Honours most humble and obedient servant,

EDWARD BULKLEY."

This following incident refers to the Roman Catholics of Madras.

"Monday, 25th September, 1693. The French Padres having represented to us that Padre Ephraim is by age disabled, and that there remains only Padre Miguel to officiate in the Portuguese Church, whereunto there are belonging about eight thousand Christians, as they call them, within the bounds of this city; and therefore request that a French Padre may be admitted to reside here as an assistant to Padre Miguel. It is considered that the said Padre was formerly of Pondicherry, but left the same before it was invested by the Dutch; and that he is of the same order as Padre Ephraim, viz. a Capuchin; and that while the Church is permitted to continue it is reasonable to allow a sufficient assistance for discharging the Church Office, which is too much for one. And

upon the whole, it is resolved that the said Padre may reside in this city as an assistant to Padre Miguel; approving himself true and subject to our government; not holding intelligence to the prejudice thereof; not drawing our soldiers or Protestant inhabitants to the Romish profession; not marrying or burying any but those of their own Church; and rendering a due account yearly of Marriages, Christenings, and Burials, and number of communicants; and this permission to continue till he be ordered to depart the place."

The following extract will explain itself.

"Friday, 3rd November, 1693. The Junkamers of Ypere (? Yepery), having received orders from Zulfikar Khan to cause a town to be built there, and to draw inhabitants to build and dwell there, and to receive 5 per cent custom on all goods carried in and out of Madras; and several of our discontented Chitties and shopkeepers having been drawn into a compliance with the design, and treated with the Junkamers in order to their settlement there: the Chief Dubash was ordered to treat with the Junkamers for putting a stop to their proceedings; and the Junkamers having thereupon promised him to suffer goods to pass according to sallabad, and to forbear building, and to write accordingly to Zulfikar Khan,—upon condition he shall privately receive 200 Rupees, a chest of Persia Brandy, and Broadcloths:—it is thought more convenient to take off these stops by that way, than to use force upon the Dewan's officers; and the Warehousekeeper is ordered to provide and deliver the Rupees etc. to Narrain, who

is to deliver the same privately according to agreement."

Our next extract refers to a domestic incident belonging to the old Fort life when all the members of the Agency dined at the General Table.

"Thursday, 16th November, 1693. Having been informed that Mr. Edward King late Steward, had made a bargain with John the Butcher for 50 Pagodas monthly during his Stewardship, which is justly suspected to be the reason why the Butcher's meat in his time is charged in his account so much dearer than by the present Steward, to the great increase of the charges of the General Table. The Attorney General is therefore ordered to take the examination of the Steward's servants then employed, and to report the same on Thursday next."

On the Thursday following the Attorney delivered in his report on this important affair, in which the evidence of one Summoodro, a Conicopoly, forms a story which may find its parallel in every European's household in Madras.

"Summoodro declares that in February last John Arts alias John the Butcher told this deponent that he had given Mr. King 20 Pagodas; that in March he gave him 30 Pagodas; then in April, May, and June this deponent knows Mr. King received 50 Pagodas each month, which was thus: when John asked for 200 Pagodas at a time, Mr. King paid him but 150 Pagodas, and took receipt for 200 Pagodas; when the month was almost expired and

John brought in 200 Pagodas worth of provisions, they then cleared their accounts."

Our next extracts refer to the possession of the Agency of Fort St. George of the then neighbouring towns of Egmore, Persewaukum, and Triplicane.

"Monday, 25th December, 1693. Received a letter from Ramdas Tarriffdar of Poonamallee under Arsimo Naik, requiring the delivery of Egmore, Persiwauk, and Triplicane to Appogee Puntalo for the use of Arsimo Naik, to whom he alleges the Nabob has granted them.

"Tuesday, 26th. This day we are informed from the Brahmin at Egmore, that an officer with ten Rajpoots are come thither to take possession by tying leaves. It is ordered that a serjeant with eight soldiers and six peons be sent thither to hinder their proceeding; and an answer was written and sent to Ramdas, to let him know that Triplicane was granted to the English at the same time that Chinnapatanam was, and Egmore and Persewaukum were lately granted us by the King's Hoosbull Hookum, and Grand Vizier and Nabob's Purwannas, and therefore cannot deliver them."

"Friday, 5th January 1694. The Town Conicopolies and chief inhabitants of Egmore, came to make their salaam to the President, and presented him with a patch of cloth, and brought sheep, fowls, cocoa nuts, with a basket of orange, limes, and plantains, which were delivered to the Steward for the use of the General Table, and made their acknowledgments of the great satisfaction and security they enjoyed under our Government.

"Tuesday, 30th January. Appogee Puntalo being come to Vepery Junkum with 50 Horse and 50 Rajpoots to take possession thereof by order of Arsimo Naik, and it is probable he has also orders for taking possession of Egmore and Persewauk which he has already demanded by letter:—it is therefore ordered that Alexander Del Gardiner, Ensign, do forthwith march thither with 10 Centinels, with whom the Serjeant and 20 Centinels there already are to join, and to prevent the Moors taking possession of those towns."

The Agency had a considerable deal of trouble before they fairly obtained the possession of the towns; at last the perwanna arrived from Zulfikar Khan as appears from the following entry.

"Monday, 19th March, 1694. A Perwanna being this forenoon received from Zulfikar Khan for holding the new towns in our possession,—it is ordered that Captain Seaton go this afternoon with the Chief Dubash and Brahmin, and cause the said perwanna to be publicly read for the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who before not daring to cut their Paddy for fear of Arsemo Naik's people, are forthwith to go about the cutting it to prevent further loss."

# CHAPTER XIII.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

*(Continued.)*

## 1692—1698.

The years 1694, 1695, 1696, which are treated in the present chapter, are marked by a number of incidents, none of which however require any lengthened introduction. Accordingly we at once proceed to lay our extracts from the records before our readers, interspersing a few explanations as occasion may arise.

The way in which firmaans could be obtained from Native Governors is illustrated by the fact that Dr. Blackwall, a surgeon in the Company's service, actually obtained for himself the Governorship of Porto Novo. Suspicions however had been excited of his having entertained the design of betraying Fort St. David; and his papers were seized by Mr. Hatsell the Chief at Cuddalore, and full reports, together with the delinquent, were dispatched to Fort St. George. We extract the following entry in the consultations.

"Friday, 9th February 1694. The General Letter from Mr. Hatsell being perused, with the paper of the examinations of Dr. Blackwall's servants, and also one letter from Dr. Blackwall to

his wife, which gives an account of his having received a firmaun for Porto Novo, whereof he and his heirs are to be Governors, where he is to maintain one or two hundred horse, and as many Europeans as he can get. Dr. Blackwall being sent for and examined, he confessed it, and delivered in a narrative of his transactions with the Nabob and Arsema Naik, but does utterly disown any design relating to Fort St. David or Cuddalore, and allegeth in his own justification that after he was acquainted that Mr. Hatsell had seized his papers, he notwithstanding came to the Council, as he intended, to disclose the whole matter, and have their approbation before he did engage in it. But it being a matter of dangerous consequence, requires further enquiry and consideration. In the meantime Dr. Blackwall is committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the Guard, to be kept in a chamber in the Fort under a Centinel, and none to speak to him till further orders." This matter lay in abeyance for some years afterwards, but Dr. Blackwall obtained his release on giving security.

Complaints respecting provisions on board ship have frequently appeared in the public journals, but we think that the following memorial against Captain Buck of the "Royal James and Mary" is unique in its kind. It is entered in the Consultations of the 22nd March, 1694.

"To the Hon'ble Nathaniel Higginson, etc, May it please your Honour, etc.

We have in pursuance of our petition formally delivered, proceeded to particularize our grievances,

which with all due submission is offered to your Honour and Council's consideration.

1. The first and chief thing that we shall allege against Captain Buck, is that of our want of fresh provisions most part of the voyage, he not considering the great and unusual rate paid for our transportation.

2. That we neither ate nor drunk of the ship's provisions so well as the Mates during the voyage.

3. That we thought it very unreasonable to allow us but one meal a day, and that of the ship's provisions, for three, four, or five weeks together, when the Mates had breakfast and supper allowed them.

4. That when there was fresh provisions killed we had not our share, the Mates having a breakfast and supper out of it, the Captain declaring it was their fees.

5. That when we had anything to eat, we ate more like beasts than men, having neither trencher nor table cloth, but after we were forced from his table, we had a table cloth and plates constantly.

6. That upon our request by Mr. Connell and Mr. Hearne that he would supply the defect of fresh provisions by allowing cheese or butter for breakfast, he granted one small cheese amongst twenty-six persons, which when expended, and we desiring more, he retorted the ship's sides were not made of cheese.

7. That the Captain was so uncivil to us, that if any person came on board, he either took them into the Roundhouse, or turned us down into the Cabin.

8. That when at St. Jago he was so uncivil to us as to deny us his boat (unless we would go in his long boat with the cattle) to get on board, his yawl and pinnace being both on shore to wait on him and his boys, forbidding his men to let any passenger come into the boats, so that those that were ashore were forced to wade up to their necks to get into the long boat.

9. That he suffered the Right Hon'ble Company's servants in general to be abused by his officers."—(Signed by seven persons.)

Captain Buck received from the Government of Fort St. George "a very severe check for the said miscarriages, which he promises to amend for the future."

The following entry explains itself.

"Monday 26th March, 1694. There having been some disorders in the entry of consultations, it is ordered for the future that all resolves of the President and Council be written by the Secretary in a foul consultation book, which are to be signed by the President and Council with the letters of their names before parting, which is the Secretary's warrant for entering the same fair; and the Secretary is ordered the next consultation day to bring the same fair entered, which is to be signed first before any other business be considered."

In perusing the following extract the reader must bear in mind that the Mogul army was still opposed to the Mahrattas in the neighbourhood and Ginjee.

"Wednesday, 20th June, 1694. Suliman Khan, brother to Davood Khan, Captain of three thousand

horse in Zulfikar Khan's army, came to town (Madras) with 6 elephants, 14 camels, and 50 horsemen, and brought a letter from his brother and from Zulfikar Khan, desiring accommodation and a Doctor for curing him of his distemper. Word was sent to Suliman Khan that he was welcome, and that he might order his servants to seek out an accommodation, and the best Doctor in the place should attend him; but that he should not bring his horsemen into town with him, but keep whom necessary for his service and send the rest out of town; and accordingly his followers pitched their tents to the west of the Fort beyond the river, and himself hired a Juliar house to the northward."

The following extract refers to the condition of the Mussulman Priests or Moollas in Triplicane.

"Tuesday, 3rd July, 1694. The two Moor Moollas, Morkai Subbah and Abou Bekker, having for many months past been at great variance concerning the division of the fees accustomed to be given them by that caste; during which time of their difference some of the Moormen have called in another Moolla to officiate in a new intended Mosque. There being two already, one built by Verona within the Black town, and the other in President Yale's time in the Pettah, sufficient for the whole caste, and for all parts of the town:—it is resolved not to admit the building of any more." The dispute between the two Moollas was settled by President Higginson, who required them to share the Mosque revenues equally; and a cowle was granted confirming to them and their children the sole right of officiating in the two Mosques.

In September this year, Judge Dolben who sat in the Court of Admiralty was dismissed from the Company's service. In the action between the Company and President Yale, he had declared that the Company's claims were set aside by the Statute of Limitations; and was moreover found guilty of receiving bribes for favouring causes. Accordingly on the 14th September it was resolved that "he is hereby dismissed from the Right Honorable Company's service till their Honour's pleasure be further known; and that in the meantime due respect be given to a person of his quality and abilities, in consideration of which it is a trouble to us to part with him."

We may here remark that Mr. Yale continued at Madras for some years after his recall, endeavouring to evade the Company's claims against him. In February 1696 he dispatched a strong petition to the Court of Directors, in which he complained of the mode in which he had been prosecuted, in a style of which our readers have already had a sample in the letters which he wrote during his quarrel with his Council. The following extract, in which he attacks both the Commissary and the Governor and Council, will be sufficient here.

"That notwithstanding your Petitioner gave sufficient bail and security to answer all the pretended charges against him, yet did the said Commissary, now President, and their accomplices seize on and sell your Petitioner's ships, goods, and estate (from time to time as they could reach the same) to the value of thirty thousand pounds or

thereabouts, being almost five times as much as they had given Judgment for against your Petitioner in their own arbitrary court and illegal way of proceeding.

"That your Petitioner being intolerably oppressed as aforesaid, did make several formal protests against such their illegal practices and proceedings, and did appeal therefrom to the Justice of England;...but contrary to all manner of Justice.....your Petitioner has been imprisoned in the Fort ever since November 1692, without hopes of liberty or relief; and with design (as your Petitioner believes) not only to stifle your Petitioner's just complaint of their unchristian usage towards him, but to enforce him into despair, or otherwise to bring on him some distemper that may hasten his death, which not long since by poison was near effected."

This insinuation of Mr. Yale's that he was in danger of poison of course called forth an indignant denial from the Presidency; a denial which gives rise to some painful suspicions that there must have been dark doings in those days, and at the same time throws further light upon the scandal appertaining to Mr. Yale's acquaintance with Mrs. Nicks. President Higginson and Council, in a general letter to the Court which appears to have accompanied the Petition, explained that they had proceeded in exact conformity to law; and that Mr. Yale had never been imprisoned one minute, but that liberty had been granted him to go home, at the only time he had ever asked for such permission; an assertion which is to some extent con-

firmed by the consultation books. But the original record is here so interesting that we will extract the words of the general letter:—"Therefore, his (Mr. Yale's) assertion that he hath been imprisoned in the Fort ever since 1692 without hope of liberty, is utterly and apparently false; and consequently the reflection is not only groundless, but basely scandalous, when he affirms he hath been imprisoned to enforce him into despair, and to bring on him some distemper that may hasten his death. Which reflection is heightened by an instance he gives of his death being not long since near effected by poison. The meaning of all which must be (if it hath any) that he is afraid the President and Council of Fort St. George will make away with him by poison or otherwise. They that know him will doubtless conclude with us, either this bold reflection is no more than the accustomary strains of wicked policy, or a salvo for his own credit against the common reports of the unusual deaths of several of the Council of Fort St. George when he was President; concerning which we do not accuse him, being compelled by the rules of Christian charity to suspend a censure, the most material evidence being dead; but if they had been living to declare themselves, what others have since their death declared as from them, some of Mr. Yale's aforementioned instruments must have been prosecuted, and he would have been put hard to it to clear his own reputation."

"The baseness of the reflection about poison will further appear. . . There never was a report that ever we heard, of anything that would

give him the least colour for such a suggestion since the year 1691, when there was a story told all about the town of a rogue that tempted Mrs. Nick's slave wench to poison her mistress; and because Mrs. Nicks then lived with Mr. Yale at his Garden house (when she and Mrs. Pavia a Jew, with their children, have and do frequent, to the scandal of Christianity among heathens) therefore he takes occasion to suppose the design was against himself, and to insinuate that the now President and Council of Fort St. George had a hand in it."

We shall probably learn something more of Mr. Yale in a future record. We now quote an entry illustrative of the current history.

"Saturday 10th November, 1694. Zulfikar Khan suddenly removed his army from Wandewash, and it was reported that he went to take Chungamon Fort (?) At the same time came various reports of quarrels between him and the other principal officers of the Mogul's army, and it was said they had orders from the king (Aurúngzebe) to seize him. Whereupon the President ordered a spy Brahmin to go and attend the motions of the Camp, and send intelligence by four Peons appointed as Tappies; from whom this day received a letter advising that Zulfikar Khan is encamped to the northward of Chungamon Fort; the Mahrattas make daily incursions in the camp and plunder them of five or six horse. At Wandewash the inhabitants by reason of the Moor's army have left their habitations, and taken to the hills nigh Chungamon Fort, for their protection.

The Mogul's horse has lately harassed and plundered the country, carrying with them both people and goods. Davood Khan and others design to seize the Nabob (Zulfikar Khan) when they shall see a fit opportunity. The Nabob sent Rama Rajah (king of the Mahrattas) ten camels loaded with rupees, but they were intercepted by Davood Khan. They (the Mogul's officers) hourly expect an opportunity to seize on the Nabob Zulfikar Khan. The Mahrattas have poisoned the waters, and have mixed milk hedges in some of the tanks, which has killed abundance of people."

The Hindoo law against putting a Brahmin to death is illustrated by the following extract.

"Saturday, 15th November, 1694. One Jugga of the Brahmin caste being found guilty of robbery and felony, and condemned to be hanged, upon the earnest intercession of the Right Honorable Company's merchants and some of the principal Black inhabitants, was reprieved, alleging it was contrary to the custom of the country to put a Brahmin to death, requesting he might be punished as accustomary among the Gentoos. It is agreed that the said Brahmin be pardoned his life; and the Justices of the Choultry are ordered to cause him to be punished in the most disgraceful way practised among the Gentoos in like cases, after which turned out of town under the penalty of being hanged whenever he returns."

About this time two nice young gentlemen, Mr. Henry Pullein and Mr. Thomas Walton, appear from the following accounts to have given some trouble to the Governor of Fort St. George.

"Saturday, 13th April, 1695. Mr. Henry Pullein, a young gentleman who came out of England as passenger in the "Defence," but not agreeing with the Commander left that Ship at the Cape, and came hither in the "Hawke," intending by the first opportunity to return to England; but before the "Princess" went home in February last, he had so far run in debt for his maintenance and extravagance, that he could not satisfy his creditors, some of whom about a month ago taking warrants out of the Court to arrest him, he to avoid their execution withdrew to St. Thomé, and in a short time fell into the acquaintance of Emaum Beague, a Moorman. The President having notice thereof, and that he was engaging himself in the Moor's service in the Camp, ordered several persons to watch his going abroad; and being advised that he was come to a Choultry near the Bar, ordered Captain Seaton with soldiers and peons to go round it and bring him in. Mr. Pullein was of his own accord coming into the town in the dusk of the evening, when Captain Seaton overtook him and brought him to the President, who finding by his examination that he had treated with the Moors in order to enter into their service, and that some of the soldiers of our garrison had also offered to go with him, though he pretends that he only gave it out to bring his creditors to reason,—the President ordered the Marshall to take him into custody till the matter can be fairly examined in Council on Monday.

"Monday, 15th April. The President doth acquaint the Council with the foregoing, and Mr.

Pullein being sent for declared the occasion of his leaving the place to be his being in debt, that he was often with Emaum Beague at St. Thomé and had discoursed concerning the Moor's service, but denies to have actually engaged therein,—it is ordered that he be confined in the room in the Fort next to the guard, and have the liberty of the Fort, with a Sentry to attend him night and day, but to keep his chamber from six in the evening till six in the morning, until he can come to a composition with his creditors."

Mr. Pullein appears to have belonged to a respectable family, who had sent him to Madras in the hope of getting rid of him, or of effecting a reformation. He was shortly afterwards sent to England, by the ship "American Merchant," as appears from the following advice in a general letter:—"We have given the Commander an order for his passage, knowing no other way to prevent his running to the Moors, and to prevent the young man's utter ruin. For if he stays he can get no employment, and will be forced to desperate courses for a maintenance, and satisfying his creditors, who must get their money where and when they can. The President is one of them, having furnished him at his first coming, to defray his charges at several times, eighty Pagodas, besides which he run into debt among the Public Houses two or three hundred Pagodas."

Mr. Walton is not noticed in such terms as can lead us to suppose that he was regarded with the same consideration as Mr. Pullein. He came out as

a writer, whilst the latter was a passenger. In fact Mr. Walton was more of a type of Hogarth's idle apprentice; but we quote the official record.

"Friday, 10th May, 1695. Thomas Walton, writer, who was sent hither from Fort St. David because he was refractory and idle, and could by no means be there kept in good order; since and here for eight months being appointed to write under the Secretary always neglected to do what was ordered him; after which he was appointed about three months ago to copy over a Ledger, and all this time has done but eleven folios; though upon information that he used to lie out of the Fort, and spend the nights in wandering up and down about town in Moor's habit, and corrupted several young men to accompany him in debauchery, the President ordered him not to go out of the Fort without leave, and strictly enjoined him to finish the books; and upon further information that Mr. Walton had a design to leave the place and run into the Moor's service, having by his extravagant run in debt beyond his ability to pay, the President gave orders to the Lieutenant of the garrison not to permit him to go out of the Fort without leave. The whole matter being now represented and discoursed in Council, and Mr. Walton sent for to bring his book, it appears that he has not written one word since he was last ordered, and does declare that he cannot write, but desires to go home. Being thus incorrigible, it is resolved that he also have leave to go by ship "Armenian Merchant," and in the meantime to prevent his further debaucheries and running to the Moors, that

the officers of the guard room do not permit him to go out of the Fort."

The dispute between the Government of Fort St. George and the Bishop of St. Thomé seems to have subsided for a time as appears from the following entry.

"Monday, 3rd May, 1695. After much contest with the Bishop of St. Thomé, he having declared his consent (because he could not help it) for Padre Gulielmo de Valle his proceeding to Cuddalore, the Padre (that difficulty being removed) is ready to go. It is therefore ordered that a License be granted him as follows.

"The President and Council of Fort St. George and city of Madras, for account of the Right Hon'ble English East India Company, do hereby for ourselves and successors give and grant unto the Reverend Padre Gulielmo de Valle, License to officiate as a Priest of the order of the Theatines in the Church erected at Cuddalore for the use of Roman Catholics and within the bounds of Fort St. David,—Provided that in temporal matters he faithfully obey the English Government there, aiding and assisting the worshipful Deputy and Council for the time being in peace and war as occasion shall require, neither shall he maintain any correspondence by letters or otherwise to the prejudice of the Government, nor shall he endeavour to draw the Protestant soldiers or inhabitants into the Romish religion, nor shall he marry, christen, or bury any of them without leave from the Deputy Governor; and once every year he shall deliver a list of all

Roman Catholics, men, women, and children within the bounds of Fort St. David. And further we appoint and order that no other Priest, religious or secular, besides the said Gulielmo de Valle, do perform any religious office without the express leave of the Deputy Governor. And that the said Gulielmo de Valle do not publish, or cause, or permit to be published, either by reading or fixing on the doors of the Church, any decree, order, or letter from the Bishop of Meliapore." (The remainder torn out).

The following entry records a mere domestic incident.

"Friday, 9th August, 1695. Last night Lieutenant Seaton at about twelve o'clock, being in drink, drew his sword upon the Choultry Guard, and run a Portuguese soldier through the arm. Dr. Bulkley being ordered to view the wound, reports that it is not dangerous; and Lieutenant Seaton being sent for, answer was brought that he was sick of a fever."

It is curious to compare the above notice with the following extract from a general letter to England:—

"Among several children born here, whose parents send home for education by this ship, is Ann Seaton, the daughter of Lieutenant Seaton, who has served your Honour nine years in Bengal and this garrison, and is a very able and useful officer. He hath paid Pagodas twenty-six permission, as the rest have done, and humbly begs your Honour will please to remit it."

The next entry explains itself.

"Wednesday, 15th January, 1696. This day being appointed for the solemnity in memory of our late deceased sovereign Queen Mary. In the forenoon a Company with Drums and Colours covered with black, and Pikes trailing, attended the President and Council to Church, where Mr. Richard Elliot preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, all the Right Hon'ble Company's servants and the English inhabitants being met in decent mourning, and the principal parts of the Church covered with black. About twelve o'clock, the flag being lowered at half mast, the Fort began to fire at St. Thomas's Point, and continued by half minute glasses from Charles Point, River Battery, Caldera Point, York Point to the batteries towards the sea, from where the ships in the roads took it, and ended the firing about two o'clock."

This chaplain who preached on this occasion died a few months afterwards. The Company were apprised of the event in a general letter to the Court dated 19th October, 1696. "The Reverend Mr. Richard Elliot died here on the 17th instant. He hath left his books to the Library, and 250 Pagodas to the Church. He hath been the instrument of great good in this place. Mr. Lewis (the co-chaplain) hath not so firm a health that he can go through the necessary service of the Church, and the frequent instruction of children and slaves, which he performs here both on Sundays and week-days."

The following notice is historical.

"Monday, 20th January, 1696. The Mahrattas

army increasing at Ginjee, and frequently sending parties into several parts of the country near Tegnapatam, it is judged necessary that the Agent and Council at Fort St. David accommodate the demands of Rama Rajah and his officers; and it is our opinion that there ought to be a fair correspondence kept with them from that place, during the present uncertain position of things between them and Moors; the Mahrattas by all advices appearing to be in all probability of being masters of all their country, unless the Mogul shall speedily send a very considerable army to the assistance of Zulfikar Khan."

A curious intrigue on the part of Zulfikar Khan, the Mogul General, is recorded at very great length in the Consultations, but may be told in a few words. On the 3rd March, 1696, Emaun Cooley and Ali Bux, two of the servants of Zulfikar Khan, carried a letter from their master to President Higginson demanding a loan of a lakh of Pagodas, offering a number of jewels as security for the repayment. The President and Council refused to comply with the demand, as the money would never be repaid and the jewels might be demanded by the Nabob's successor. Meantime they were advised by an Armenian that the Mogul had ordered Zulfikar Khan to march against Madras, and therefore supposed that he only designed to pick a quarrel. Accordingly presents were made to Emaun Cooley, but the loan was refused. On the 30th of the same month they received a letter advising them of the return of the messengers to Zulfikar, with the statement

that on their arrival the Nabob sent for the chief men of his army and divided twenty thousand Rupees among them, much commending the Government of Madras for their liberality. From this circumstance it would appear that the Mogul army was mutinous for want of pay, and that Zulfikar Khan only sent to Madras to gain time until he could get some money elsewhere. Fears however were entertained that notwithstanding the politic commendations he had made in the presence of his army, that he would still resent the refusal of the loan.

Our next extract refers to a domestic incident. It will be seen that Dr. Brown, the unfortunate surgeon who poisoned Mr. Charles, is again at large.

"Monday, 27th April. Complaint having been made by Madremtala in a letter received by the Governor last night, that Dr. Brown had gone to the house of Ananta Terterra his Junkameer of Vepery, and carried him away by force, and robbed him to the value of six thousand Pagodas as by a list sent. Dr. Brown being sent for gives this account. That on Saturday having rid out to Egmore in Company, in their return by the Vepery Choultry the Moor Peons called him names; and he riding up to them to demand the reason, there followed more aggravating words and they beat him. When he came home, being informed where the Chief man of the Choultry lived, he took his sword and pistol, and being followed by his boy with another pistol, and his horsekeeper, went to the house and by force took out Ananta Terterra,

and brought him to the Bridge Gate; where understanding that that was not the man which had abused him, let him go.

"Ananta Terterra doth also further complain that Dr. Brown broke his face with a pistol, pulled his beard, etc., and that he was robbed to the value of six thousand Pagodas; which though there is no reason to believe, yet the Dewan's officers will take occasion to make a demand as accustomary, and give us trouble by complaining to the Nabob. And Dr. Brown being apparently guilty of a breach of the peace, it is resolved that he be committed to the custody of the Marshall, that others may be deterred from the like, and that the inhabitants may understand that such practises are not allowed."

A week afterwards Dr. Brown was discharged from his confinement, in consideration of his patients suffering for want of his assistance, he giving security to the Judges satisfaction.

Our next extract illustrates the occasional difficulty of collecting Quit Rents in the olden time.

"Monday, 13th July. There having been many pawns taken the last year for Quit Rents charged upon several inhabitants, who either refused or were unable to pay, the Rental General was ordered, in pursuance of the Right Hon'ble Company's orders, to sell the said pawns, which was accordingly done; but the clamour and complaints made by the poor among the inhabitants, and the reports thereof in the Nabob's camp, caused the Governor to order him not to take pawns, but to proceed in the collecting of the Quit Rents so far as he could

without, and then to produce an account of Quit Rents to be received for September 1695." Subsequently it was resolved to sell the pawns by private contract, and not by public outcry, or auction.

As old traditions are afloat that the sea has greatly encroached upon the Coromandel coast during the last few centuries, we have made a point of extracting such entries as will illustrate such encroachments. The following one may be compared with other notices published in previous chapters.

"Monday, 20th July. The sea having for three or four days past gained very much upon the shore and approached near the walls, and this day broke down part of two piles before the sea gate, it is propounded to consideration by what means the encroachment may be prevented, and in order thereunto resolved, that the principal inhabitants of the place be summoned to meet on Thursday next at four of the clock in the Fort to view the outworks and receive their advice.

"Thursday, 30th July. The principal inhabitants and Senior merchants having with the Council on the 23rd instant viewed the sea side. The result is, that the sea doth plainly increase and may in time hazard the walls; yet it is not admirable to stake it from Point to Point, partly because the charge will be so great (supposed to amount to if well done to at least Pagodas five thousand), and partly because it is generally doubted that it will not answer the end."

The following incidents illustrate the progress of public affairs.

"Saturday, 8th August, 1696. Madrantula having seized 250 cattle in the country belonging to the shepherds of Madras, he had caused all to be delivered to the owners except 60 belonging to the shepherds who serve the Fort with butter and milk. Upon complaint made to the Nabob, Madrantula caused them also to be delivered, and the shepherds returned this night with an answer that they had received all but three which were for the present lost."

"Letters received weekly from the spy Brahmin at the Camp (at Ginjee) give an account that the French and Portuguese continue their solicitations there concerning St. Thomé, and distribute their presents among all the considerable officers, but do not give any distinct account of their business and design."

We make the following extracts, not from their possessing any intrinsic interest, but because they illustrate the mode of procedure in the Choultry and court of Admiralty.

"Monday, 3rd August. The Choultry Justices having produced examinations taken by them concerning the murder of a child in the Black town, and the robbing of a godown within the walls :— it is ordered that the Judge Advocate do cause a session to be held on Tuesday the 11th instant, for the trial of the criminals, and that the examinations be delivered to the Attorney General in order to their prosecution.

"Thursday, 13th August. The Judge reports

from the Special Court of Admiralty held on the 11th and 12th instant, for the trial of several criminals, that on the 11th the Grand Jury found both the bills, viz. Chinandree and Nulla Tombee accused of breaking into a Godown and stealing a considerable quantity of Quicksilver; and Hosana and Pochera for murdering of a child in Black town:—the Court adjourned their trial till yesterday the 12th. Chinandree pleaded guilty to his indictment and Nulla Tombee pleaded not guilty. The Court proceeded in their trial and the Petit Jury withdrew and returned and gave their verdict, viz. Nulla Tombee guilty of petty larceny, and Hosana and Pochera not guilty of the murder. The sentence was accordingly that Nulla Tombee should on Friday next have one of his ears cut off and be whipped and turned out of town. Chinandree to be executed next Wednesday at the usual place of execution, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon, being the 19th instant, and Hosana and Pochera to be discharged."

"It is upon the question resolved in Council that Chinandree be reprieved from the execution of sentence of death, and that he be sent to Anjango (in Travancore) to work there in irons. In the meantime to remain in the custody of the Marshall; and that the Choultry Justices see that the sentence of the Court be executed upon Nulla Tombee."

The Native Agency through which the Presidency of Fort St. George made their investments in Company's goods, is largely illustrated by a very

long entry in the consultations of the 23rd April, 1696, which may be summed up in a few words. At an early period, as we have already seen, Cassa Verona was the Chief Merchant through whom the Presidency transacted its business. On the 27th November, 1678, it was agreed that Cassa Verona should pay only half the custom of 5 per cent, which was levied on all goods passing into the Company's territory by sea or land; and this privilege was granted him during his employment as Chief Merchant, in return for he and his partners making themselves responsible to the Company for all the Joint Stock Merchants. Cassa Verona died on the 28th March, 1680, and on the 5th April following Pedda Vencatadry was appointed Chief Merchant, and the business was managed in the same manner as in Verona's time. But in June, the same year, the Agent and Council resolved upon making a Company of Merchants in a Joint Stock, and offered the Chiefship of the Company to Pedda Vencatadry. He refused for a long time, but at length consented; and on the 12th July the regulation of the Joint Stock was finished, consisting of one hundred shares, "nine being appointed Chief Merchants whereof Pedda Vencatadry was the first; and on the 16th September following, it was resolved by Consultation that Pedda Vencatadry and his partners do pay whole custom upon all goods and provisions imported or exported by sea or by land." This change led to long discussions and disputes, which have long since lost all interest.

The following extract will be interesting to our Roman Catholic readers.

"Tuesday, 8th September, 1696. The French Padre having hitherto avoided the paying of any Quit Rent for their Garden, and the Rental General now demanding their Quit Rent and arrears, and in case of nonpayment threatening to distrain;—the French Padre came this morning to the Governor, and plainly declared that their order of Capuchins cannot pay any tribute or Quit Rent for the Garden or for anything else; that the reason is, because their order doeth strictly and expressly forbid them to possess anything in property, and therefore if the Company will require Quit Rent for the Garden they must quit it; and if the Garden had been first offered under conditions of paying, the Padres then neither could nor would have accepted on it. The Governor argued that small matter was laid only as an acknowledgment of the Right Hon'ble Company's dominion. He answered that they readily acknowledged the dominion and property of the Company, and will readily subscribe to such a paper when desired; and that they are ready to quit the Garden, Church, and place when required so to do; both their residence and possessions here depending solely on the pleasure of the Right Hon'ble Company. It is resolved that the Rental General forbear making any further demands of Quit Rent of the Padre, and that the case be stated to the Right Hon'ble Company in our next General letter, and their orders awaited."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

*(Concluded.)*

### 1692—1698.

The events of the concluding years of the Governorship of Mr. Higginson, which are recorded in the present chapter, throw considerable light upon the progress of the struggle between Aurungzebe and the Mahrattas, as well as upon the contemporary condition of St. Thomé, and the general progress of affairs at Fort St. George. Our readers will bear in mind that the Nabob Zulfikar Khan still continued to command the army of the Mogul, which was attempting the reduction of the Mahrattas at Ginjee. This interminable seige is but briefly noticed by Mahommedan historians, and is only interesting to the modern reader so far as the fortunes of the Madras Presidency were affected by the proceedings of the rival armies.

The very first extract is a review of the relations between the Presidency and the Nabob Zulfikar Khan.

"Monday, 14th September, 1696. The Nabob (Zulfikar Khan) is disgusted, the only apparent

reason thereof is, that we did not comply with his demand of lending him one hundred thousand Pagodas when Emaum Cooley came for that purpose in March last; since which he hath been very unkind; whereas before he never denied, he has since never granted anything asked, and sought all occasions of quarrel, hearkening to every story and encouraging accusers, which not only increases the number of troublesome accusations, but emboldens his other officers to stop and seize our goods, exact unusual customs, and to do all things that tend to the lessening of the trade and destroying our privileges. From this doth proceed the stop put upon the wrecks at St. Thomé, and detaining of fugitives."

"The Portuguese of St. Thomé have sent Domingo d'Coa to the Nabob to solicit the renting of the adjoining Aldeas (?), and the confirming of the King's Firmaun for enjoying St. Thomé with privileges according to salabad, and liberty of the Nabob to fortify. The Nabob has given them a Perwanna in pursuance of said Firmaun, though he has not granted anything according to their request.

"Hadji Mahomed Ali, the Havildar of St. Thomé and Pulicat, hath been with the Nabob, and is confirmed in that office with the addition of the rent of the Poonamallee country and Junkum, though under the name of another. He was a merchant and understands and considers trade, and by a moderate Government has endeavoured to promote it at St. Thomé and Pulicat; and though he has hitherto carried it fair to us, we ought to

esteem him a dangerous man, who will take all opportunities to lessen the trade and reputation of this place; in order to which he hath gained so much credit and acquaintance with many merchants, Armenians, Moors, and Gentoos, and doubtless would draw them if he could to St. Thomé.

"Our spy Brahmin at the camp advises of a Frenchman and three Gentoos and Brahmins, who have been there two months treating with the Nabob for a fortification at St. Thomé; but their real design is not known, nor who the persons are nor whence they came, but whoever they are the Nabob doth receive and hear them.

"It is known that the King (Aurungzebe) did at first give sudden and rash orders against Madras, and they were revoked; but whether the Nabob hath received any since is uncertain, but his carriage to us gives some reason to suspect that his demand of one hundred thousand Pagodas was the first step in order to a quarrel."

The following is a mere domestic matter. A century and a half ago beggars would appear to have been as great a nuisance in Fort St. George, as they now are in Blacktown.

"Monday, 2nd November, 1696. There being many inconveniences in admitting beggars to go up and down within the walls, being many of them diseased persons and sometimes forty or fifty in a Company,—it is ordered that henceforth no person be admitted to beg within the walls of the Christian town, and if they do the inhabitants are forbid to give them anything, and the officers of

the Garrison and Peons and Corporation Officers are ordered when they meet with any within the walls to turn them out. But that the charity of those who are so disposed may not be obstructed, it is recommended to the Mayor and Aldermen to cause a list to be made of the subscriptions of said inhabitants as are inclined to give weekly, and to collect the same every Saturday; and on the Monday following in the afternoon to cause the same to be distributed at the Choultry among such as really want of those who live here and have used to beg within the walls, whose names are to be written in a list and called over at the time of distribution."

We again return to the constant intriguing going on at the camp of Zulfikar Khan.

"Saturday, 17th October. The Nabob being within four leagues of this place to the northward, and there being several reports which makes it credible that in his return to Arcot he will visit the sea coast,—it is resolved that a present be sent him and Wottom Chund, to the amount of about three hundred Pagodas in such things as can be procured and most acceptable to them.

"Friday, 30th. Two letters received from Narrain Brahmin wherein he adviseth that the present carried to the Nabob was kindly accepted, but that Wottom Chund refused his. That there is discourse in the camp of the Nabob's giving orders to Hussan Khan (Foujdar of Trivalore) concerning Madras. Also a letter from Hadji Mahomed Ali (Havildar of St. Thomé and Pulicat), which he hath received from the Na-

bob's servant at the Camp, and which was written by the orders of Zulfikar Khan." This last letter from the Nabob's servant to the Havildar is interesting, but the opening paragraph is partly torn away. It appears however that the Mogul army under the Nabob Zulfikar Khan, had been reduced to such a miserable condition, that the latter had in the previous February, demanded the loan of a hundred thousand Pagodas already alluded to. Here we can quote the words. "He (the Nabob) had sent by Emaum Cooley Beague, a parcel of jewels to the Captain of Chinnapatanam as a pawn for one hundred thousand Pagodas, but he did not comply. At that time the Nabob was fixed against the Mahrattas, and therefore passed it by. On receipt of this letter I would have you go to Chinnapatanam, and procure the above mentioned sum of money, which will be for their benefit, but if they cannot pay the whole sum at once, you may allow them some time to pay fifteen or twenty thousand Pagodas. Those people were much to blame in not considering rightly of it before, but you may soon make them sensible of their error. In case they do not take your advice and come into the right way, write me of it. Then that place shall be taken into the King's custody, like as Pulicat and the Sea Port towns, and only the Fort shall remain under theirs. The Nabob has left at Trepassore Hussan Khan about this business. After I have received your answer the Nabob will send a party to assist Hussan Khan in the taking of the said Sea Port town; that same town produces yearly above one hundred thousand

Pagodas ; it is no great matter to lend a year's revenue to the Nabob. I would have you send me an answer with all speed. What can I write more ?"

An extraordinary consultation was held on the next day, October 31st, to take this important demand into consideration. Timapa, who had been Chief Merchant to the Presidency, had run away from Madras, and had probably conveyed dangerous information to the Nabob. Moreover a party in Madras itself were suspected of intriguing with Timapa ; whilst grave suspicions were entertained of Narrain the spy Brahmin. The only decision however at which the Council arrived, was to put the place in the best possible defence. Two days afterwards it was resolved on further consideration that " we cannot pay or lend the Nabob the sum of a hundred thousand Pagodas, either out of the Right Hon'ble Company's chest, nor by imposing a Poll tax on the inhabitants ; nor can we admit of a Thasildar over the Black town ; and if the Nabob shall send an army as threatened to besiege the place, and compel us to compliance, we ought to defend the place as well as we can. But that it is better to prevent a seige, and the ill-consequences that will follow it, if the same can be done by spending a reasonable sum without rendering the place liable to a tribute."

Three days afterwards the general position of the Presidency was taken into consideration by the Council, both as regards the French and Portuguese as well as the Native powers. We extract the whole of the Consultation in question, merely requiring our readers to bear in mind that the

English and Dutch were in alliance against the French; in other words that Willlam of Orange was still engaged in that tremendous war against Louis XIV for the restoration of the balance of power, which has been duly celebrated in the history of Lord Macaulay.

"Thursday, 5th November, 1696. Upon the matter of the Consultation the 31st past. The intelligence received from the Right Hon'ble Company concerning the French designs in India is considered. They advise a great quantity of ammunition and warlike preparations proper for land service, which is a demonstration that these six French ships* come upon a design against some place in India; and though the intelligence mentions Malacca, yet it may be rationally supposed that the Commanders in Chief have their private instructions for proceeding upon several designs if one fail; and whatever we may guess concerning their return for Europe, it seems more probable that those six ships are not returned without any attempt or lading; and it is safer to suppose that they are still in India, and that they have some design still to execute. There are some arguments may be urged against the probability of their having any design against this place or Fort St. David, as that the Dutch have ships of war in Bengal, which with the northerly monsoon can easily and speedily come upon them on any part

* No previous notice of these six French ships have been found in the Records. The case appears to have been that these ships were sent out, but that it was doubtful what their designs really were.

of this coast. If the French have any regard to future trade they ought not to invade this place, because seated in the Mogul's dominions. But there are also some other circumstances which are matter of caution. It is notorious that the Portuguese are friends of the French. Their intentions do appear by the ready assistance given them at Goa, and the behaviour of our neighbours at St. Thomé ever since the arrival of Francisco Luiz under the character of Captain General, and with a private Commission; but there doth not appear any busine[illegible] he had to do here, unless he came to serve the French designs; and if there be any reality in what the spy Brahmin has so often wrote from the Camp, concerning a Frenchman running up and down privately to the Nabob, and his officers soliciting against Madras, it may be easily thought that the St. Thomé Portuguese are joined in the Council. Besides, the Right Hon'ble Company's instructions that in case the French coming against us to procure assistance from the Moor's armies. But if the French shall prevail with the Moors, either to join with or connive at their attempting against the Place, between ourselves and the Mogul, our case would be much more the worse against two enemies. It may be objected that it is very probable that the Nabob cannot make war against this Place without the King's order. But it may be also considered that he (Zulfikar Khan) hath frequently done greater things than that, not only without but against the King's order. He has imprisoned Cambuksh the King's

son; and though the King for a time did express resentment, yet there followed no effect. He hath been frequently ordered to take Ginjee, and it hath been in his power to do it and destroy all the Mahrattas in the country; but instead of that it appears plain that he hath joined council with them, and notwithstanding all the endeavours of his enemies, his father still prevails at court to keep the Nabob in his Government. And if he hath an interest to defend himself against so potent enemies, he can more easily baffle any complaints that we can make to the king. And it is in his power, if he be so inclined, to trouble and plague us, and to raise new impositions to the stopping all business; and it will not be in our power to procure a remedy at last, but by the same means that he and his officers now aim at, that is by a more considerable present."

"Thursday, 31st December. Letters and travellers that came from the King's camp fifteen days past, advice that the King is, by reason of a plague which had destroyed 95,000 men, removed with his camp to Collaburriga, standing in the midst between Vizagapatam and Golconda. That Sultan Akbar is come with an army from Persia on this side Candahar, upon which the King hath sent orders to Shah Allum to stop his further proceeding; and hath order Dider Bukhsh to Ginjee, and Zulfikar Khan to follow after Santojee into the Mysore country; in pursuance of which Zulfikar Khan is already gone as far as Punnigunda, 50 leagues from hence."

Before proceeding farther it will be as well to glance at the contemporary condition of St. Thomé, which may be fully gathered from the following extracts from general letters to England, dated 1695.

"The inhabitants of St. Thomé continue under their subjection to the Moor's government, and are generally reduced to great poverty, having to no purpose spent large sums for getting the government into their own hands, and are miserably divided among themselves, but yet retain their great pride, which makes them talk pertly upon every slight occasion. Their present great news is that the King of Portugal has made a Company at Goa, to whom is limited the trade of India; . . . but the opinion here is that the stock is French money, and the chief design is the provision of saltpetre, which the Dutch will not suffer the Portuguese, nor any other nation, to export from Bengal except the English."

"In the latter end of May 1695, arrived a ship from Goa at St. Thomé, upon which came a Fidalgo, Francisco Luiz, a relation of the Viceroy's, who is called Captain General of the coast. Upon the 1st June he summoned the inhabitants and read his commission, the purport whereof is said to be that the Viceroy gives him power to manage all business on the coast of Coromandel, and requires all the subjects of the king of Portugal to obey and assist him in the execution of his instructions which are hitherto kept private. Two things are reported, the setting up of an Inquisition Office at St. Thomé, and the calling all Portuguese to St. Thomé under pain of treason. He has brought

with him commissions for a Captain of war by sea, and a Captain of the land forces. So that the Fidalgo's greater business is supposed to be the gaining of an addition to the stock of the new Company at Goa. The inhabitants of St. Thomé are greatly disgusted and much divided among themselves; and the wiser sort laugh at these bravadoes, while they see themselves so much under the power and strict watch of the Moors, that a few days since the Havaildar made a Proclamation round the town, that no Portuguese should wear a sword without the walls of St. Thomé. There appears no reason yet to take any public notice of their proceedings, but knowing their good will to us we shall watch their motions."

Upon these matters the Court of Directors commented in a general letter bearing date, 26th January, 1698.

"The account you give us of the Portuguese Fidalgo, and their servile condition under the Moor's government, is an unanswerable proof that St. Thomé is not likely to prejudice Fort St. George by its neighbourhood, or that any person under our protection worth any thing, would, to escape paying our duties, desert Madras to inhabit there. It is the free enjoyment of liberty and property that makes our territories worth courting, were the taxes double what they are; there being no danger of the capricious and changeable humours of every domineering Havildar; and doubtless the Moors are the same perfidious, insulting, imperious tyrants in all places as at St. Thomé."

The reader will now be in a position to under-

stand the progress of events at St. Thomé, as illustrated by the following extracts from the consultations.

"Friday, 8th January, 1697. Yesterday the King's Dewan, and this day the King's Buxee from Arcot, arrived at St. Thomé; to each of whom sent two bottles Rosewater and a glass Hubble bubble with a compliment.

"Monday, 11th. The Dewan and Buxee this day employed Coolies in pulling down three of the points at St. Thomé; the reason whereof is said to be because the Portuguese have not presented them since their arrival.

"Sunday, 17th. Spies from St. Thomé have ever since the 11th instant daily advised, that the Moors go on in pulling down the fortifications, whereof five points and the gate demolished; and to-day they begun upon the wall, carrying the brick and stone to a place where the Havildar is going to build a house; they have also taken down the Flag staff, and this day visited one of the churches. The Dewan this day sent ten camels and a coach to fetch to St. Thomé his household staff and lumber, which he lodged here about seven months ago.

"Monday, 8th February. The Dewan having from St. Thomé sent a present to the Governor in silks to the value of about thirty Pagodas, and he being to depart for the camp to-morrow morning,—it is ordered that a present of about sixty Pagodas value be returned, whereof the Governor pays thirty Pagodas, and the rest on Right Hon'ble Company's account."

The next incident is one which will interest our local antiquarians.

"Monday, 25th January, 1697. The Choultry by age extremely decayed, and the walls so weak that some prisoners have made their escape by breaking through, and the Prisons being too few and small for that service,—it is resolved that the whole Choultry be taken down and rebuilt, viz. upon the ground the Choultry now stands upon, and the ground of a house belonging to an old Committee widow, adjoining to the north side of the Choultry; which house and ground Mr. Barwell and Mr. Wright are ordered to purchase, by causing the house to be valued, and the value to be paid her, or laid out in building another house for the widow in some spare ground near the burying place. And that in the meantime the Choultry business done in the large shop over against the middle Gate, which about five years ago was rented by Mulla Mossum, and is the place of the daily rendezvous of many Persians and Moors; and that so many of the small shops adjoining be made use of for prisons as occasion requires."

The next extract shows that the missionary effort of the Directors, in behalf of the Portuguese and slaves, was proceeding but slowly.

"Thursday, 25th February, 1697. The Right Hon'ble Company ordering that the Portuguese Common Prayer Books be distributed for the use of the Portuguese inhabitants in such a manner as will best tend to the propagation of the Protestant religion, it is ordered that the same be all deliver-

ed to Mr. Lewis (the Chaplain) to be kept in the Church Library, and by him distributed to such of the Portuguese as desire and understand them; and because there are at present but few such, it is ordered that he lend one of them to any of the Right Hon'ble Company's servants or married inhabitants, especially such as have in their families Portuguese servants or slaves who speak the language. But there being but seventy-two books now sent (the rest being to follow) Mr. Lewis is to keep a list of the persons to whom they are lent, who are to subscribe their names in the list under a title obliging them to return the books when demanded under the penalty of paying one pagoda each."

The following incident illustrates the habits of some of our predecessors in the matter of drinking and duelling.

"Monday, 1st April, 1697. Mr. Cheesely having in a Punch house upon a quarrel of words drawn his sword (but were parted and put up without any mischief done) and being taxed therewith, he doth both own and justify the drawing of the sword, and alleges that he had received provoking language which he thought himself obliged to resent. Mr. Cheesely is thereupon ordered not to wear a sword while here, and acquainted that by the law of this place whoever gives or receives a challenge is to pay 200 pagodas."

During this year, and during many previous years, the proceedings of Interlopers had caused great anxiety and irritation at Fort St. George. Many were seized and tried as pirates in the Court

of Admiralty; but the proceedings are so briefly recorded that we have hitherto found none worthy of extract. The following entry however illustrates the anxiety of the President and Council to prevent such trading in India; and further on the reader will also find a lengthy detail of the proceedings which followed the arrival of an Interloper at St. Thomé.

"Friday, 4th June, 1697. The Armenians having promised in Consultation to sign a writing for not trading with interlopers, which being deferred for two days, the Lieutenant General (Higginson) sent the Dubash to remind them of their promise; and after several consultations and debates among themselves, this morning they brought one paper in Armenian signed, and afterwards another in English signed, the copy whereof follows, viz.

"We, the subscribers Armenians here present this day in Fort St. George, by these presents, do give our word and promise unto the Hon'ble Nathaniel Higginson Esquire, Lieutenant General of India and Governor of Fort St. George, and Council, that we are obliged from this day forward in whatsoever Port we shall meet with any interloper, we nor none of us here under subscribed will by any manner of way, or by any means, have any dealing, trade, traffic, or contract, with any such interloper nor any of their people. And in respect to the Right Hon'ble English East India Company, in whatsoever Port we or any of us shall encounter with any interloper, we hereby oblige ourselves and every one of us, to give advice and notice to all other Armenians not to deal, trade,

traffic, or contract with them; but whereas there are many people of other nations who obey not their King, so we Armenians, having no King, Company, nor Superior, but are free trading Merchants independent of any, so we conceive ourselves no ways answerable for the actions of others of our nation to which we are no ways liable." (Signed by nine Armenians.)

The following extract will explain itself.

"Thursday, 2nd September, 1697. The Nabob (Zulfikar Khan) being lately returned from his victory over Tanjore to Wandewash, and since his return taken old Ginjee, and being about marrying,—it is thought a convenient time to send him a present; and the rather because our frequent advices and reports from several parts, of the Nabob's design to send an army to visit the sea coast, and hath now sent Ali Buksh his own servant to be chief Junkameer and Renter of Poonamallee country, who doth already discover his intentions to be troublesome, pretending special orders from the Nabob. Resolved that a present be forthwith sent to the value of one thousand Pagodas, and two hundred Pagodas for Emaum Cooley."

In October this year, the Junkameer attempted to collect large customs from goods passing through Triplicane and Tandore for Madras; and some spy Peons gave information to the President and Council that he was supported by the head Poligar of the neighbourhood, and that a ground for quarrel was anxiously desired. On the 11th of the month we find the following entry in the consultation

book. "By daily complaints of merchants and others going and coming, it appears that this Junkameer doth at all his meets demand from 5 to 20 per cent for money and jewels, for which they search all travellers; and for all sorts of provisions that pass to the Camp; and the half a quarter value of provisions that are brought from the country this way; and hath caused an account to be taken of all trees, gardens, and fruits, and demands the half; and also demands half of the calicoes made by the weavers; and hath killed three or four men by beating with clubs; upon which many country inhabitants are fled.

"Resolved to await till we see the issue of the letter and present sent the Nabob; and in the mean time to avoid all acts of hostility except forced thereunto for our own defence; and that sixty peons be sent to guard Tandore, and forty to Triplicane, with the like orders."

"Tuesday, 12th October. The Governor having yesterday wrote to Mr. Barwell to bring his family and all the English from the Mount, this evening at nine o'clock received a note from him advising that, as he was coming with his family to town, they were stopped by the Junkameers a little beyond Triplicane, and that he would retire to a neighbouring town and await for further orders.

"The Governor thereupon ordered 40 peons and 30 soldiers to go and conduct him to town, but as they were ready to go, Mr. Barwell came to the Gates, being by order of the Chief Junkameer permitted to come, but adviseth that the rest could not come from the Mount for want of Coolies. At

the same time came a letter from a servant of the Junkameer to Ramapa advising to a reconciliation; in answer to which Ramapa was ordered to write that when he returned the Company's goods which he had robbed, his proposals should be delivered to the Governor."

Some days elapsed before the matter was accommodated, but meantime President Higginson was advised that the present to Zulfikar Khan had been received, and that consequently he might rely to some extent on the favour of the Nabob. At length the Junkameer returned all the goods he had taken, and the roads to Madras were once again open for the passage of travellers and merchandize.

The following is historical.

"Tuesday, 26th October, 1697. The Spy Bramin from the camp of Zulfikar Khan adviseth that the Nabob hath sent the Mahratta prince, Rama Rajah's son to Ginjee, and hath sent Rama Rajah word that the Mogul doth not approve of his proposals, but hath ordered him to take Ginjee and that he intends to go in a few days. Reported that Rama Rajah being lately dead, the Mahrattas are going to conquer the country, which may delay their coming into these parts." In January, 1698, advices reached Madras that Zulfikar Khan had taken Ginjee, and a congratulatory letter with presents was accordingly dispatched to the Nabob.

The following incidents which befel the Factory at Anjengo, and Fort St. David, will illustrate the dangers which occasionally befel the smaller Agencies of the Company. Anjengo

is a small sea port on the Malabar coast, about eighty miles to the north of Cape Comorin. Attinga, the chief residence of the Tamburrettics, or Princesses of Travancore, lay in the immediate neighbourhood. In 1684 the Company had obtained permission from the Queen of Attinga to fortify Anjengo, and a small strip of land round it. The following extract from the consultations of Fort St. George tells its own story.

"Monday, 15th November. Letters from Anjengo received yesterday advising that they have had two engagements with the Queen's forces sent to turn them out of the country as pirates; in the latter whereof they slew the Nair Captain, routed his men, proceeded to burn the Moors town, and all the houses between that and the Fort, and retreated without the loss of one man. That they expect a further assault, and if the Natives can at any time, in peace or war, by fair means or foul, enter the Fort, they will cut all off; and therefore for security of their lives and of the Fort, they desire a supply of soldiers, guns, ammunition, and provision and stores." The request was granted.

"Sunday, 20th February. General letter from Fort St. David received this day giving an account, that Selim Khan sent a letter to the President of Fort St. David, desiring that nine ox load of the King's treasure passing to the Camp, might remain one night in Cuddalore for security, which being brought in by some horsemen on the 17th in the afternoon, said horsemen next morning seized Porto Novo Gate, wounding a corporal; and another party coming to their assistance, they

also seized on Chellumbrum Point, robbed the Bazaar, and carried away three elephants. But a party of men being sent from the Fort to the assistance of the guard at Cuddalore, the Moors were beaten out of the town with the loss of eight men killed, five taken prisoners, and six horses; there being killed one Dutchman a soldier, and Captain Tracy a volunteer, and five or six soldiers wounded; and that Selim Khan was in person with the routed party about seven miles off."

The President and Council had now to consider whether this design of Selim Khan had been attempted with or without the knowledge of the Nabob Zulfikar Khan; but they do not appear to have arrived at any definite conclusion, and simply resolved to send assistance to Cuddalore and a letter of complaint to the Nabob. Shortly afterwards, news arrived that Selim Khan had made a second attempt upon Cuddalore, and had been again repelled; upon which the President and Council then arrived at the following conclusion. "The second attempt gives ground to suspect that it is done by the Nabob's order; though reports give a probable account of an irreconcilable quarrel between the Nabob and Dawood Khan (the brother of Selim Khan), who carries on the conquest of Ginjee country in opposition to the Nabob."

The following curious record of the happy results of drinking a bowl of punch with a pirate crew is worthy of preservation.

"Wednesday, 5th April. The "Sedgwick," Captain Watts Commander, arrived from Anjen-

go. The Master acquaints that in going to Anjengo he was pursued by Kidd the Pirate three days and three nights, and with great difficulty escaped, it being calm and Kidd outrowing him; and that in his return from Anjengo he was taken by another pirate, Chivers a Dutchman, in the Algerine Galley near Cape Comorin, which with her excellent sailing and rowing fetched up the Sedgwick in nine hours. The cargo of pepper not being for their turn, they dismissed the ship, after they had robbed her of her two courses, sheet cable, anchor, cordage, pitch, tar, and other stores; though several of the ship's Company, being mightily taken with the "Sedgwick's" build and usefulness for a cruiser, Captain Watts with great difficulty prevailed to save her by a merry management of a bowl of punch among the ship's Company, upon which they said he is an honest fellow, let him go."

The following record of the lengthy proceedings which followed the arrival of an Interloper at St. Thomé is so illustrative of the times that we give it in extenso.

"Friday, 10th June, 1698. A ship came into St. Thomé road with an English ancient, but showed no jack; and in the evening the Doctor and Purser came ashore to the Captain More Lucas Luiz his house, and gave out that they came from Batavia and the South Seas, were bound for Bengal, and called at St. Thomé for wood and water, the ship's name being the "Resolution," Captain Etherington, Commander. But a letter from a Portuguese at St. Thomé advises that she

was suspected to be a Pirate. Several peons and spies were ordered to bring intelligence of what passed at St. Thomé, and to observe who had correspondence with them, and the chief peons ordered to keep a good watch.

"Sunday, 12th. In the evening advised that Joache John Domingo Mattor, and Francisco de Saa, had been this day aboard the ship to treat about trucking saltpetre for sugar.

"Several Fort St. George dubashes having been at St. Thomé, were, as they returned in the evening, brought by the peons to the Governor and sent to the trunk to deter others.

"Monday, 13th. The following advices have been received concerning the English ship at St. Thomé, viz. That on Sunday the Doctor and Purser were treating with Francisco Mendez for saltpetre, who sent two Portuguese aboard with musters to truck for sugar. The Doctor and Purser returning in the evening brought two hats and a basket of wine as a present to Lucas Luiz at whose house they lodge, and a bag of dollars. Some Portuguese have also written that they suspect them to be Pirates, because they refuse to bring goods, or to let people go aboard, and offer 30 great guns for sale, and the Captain keeps aboard.

"Resolved that the following orders be published in English, Portuguese, Gentoo, and Malabar.

"That no European inhabitant go out of the bounds of Madras without leave of the Governor or second of Council.

"That all European strangers, coming by sea or land, do repair to the Governor immediately, and in the case of omission, to be secured in the Guard till examined.

"That no inhabitant do entertain any stranger whatsoever in their houses, without notice given and leave obtained from the Governor, or Chief Justice of the Choultry.

"That no person whatsoever, inhabitant of this place, hold any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with any person belonging to the ship now in St. Thomé road, which arrived there on the 11th instant with English colours, under pain of a month's imprisonment, or so long as the said ship shall remain on this coast, and fine not exceeding 500 Pagodas. And it is further declared, that if any of the Right Hon'ble Company's servants be guilty of a breach of this order, they shall forthwith be dismissed the Company's service."

"Cojee Gregorie, Cojee Peinûs, and Cojee Saffur, the principal Armenians of this place, being sent for were acquainted that, they having formerly given a writing not to deal with Interlopers, and there being now a ship come to St. Thomé wearing English colours, not known whether Interloper or Pirate, but she not belonging to the Company,—it is expected that in compliance with said writing, they hold no manner of correspondence with them, and that they take care the rest of their nation observe the said orders,—which they promised to comply with.

"Antonio Feriera de Silva, commonly called Joache, a Portuguese inhabitant of this place,

having been on board the ship at St. Thomé yesterday, and being suspected by the slight account he gives, that he designs to drive a trade with them, and the likeliest man to carry it on for himself and others, to prevent which he was committed to the custody of the Marshal till further order.

"Joache Domingo de Mattor, a Portuguese inhabitant of St. Thomé, having been yesterday aboard the ship treating about sugar and saltpetre, and coming to town, being concerned in a ship in this road and bound for Bengal,—came and acquainted that he went upon the request of the Havildar (of St. Thomé) to know whether the ship was a Pirate, and also upon Mr. Styleman's (second of council) orders to him to enquire news; whereof he gave him notice on Saturday night by a letter, and now came to give a further account. That he pretended to treat for trucking saltpetre for sugar, but observed that few men did appear, and no arms above deck; and being desirous to buy a fowling peice, they would not suffer him to go down to see them, but caused them to be brought up, and that by many circumstances he suspected them to be Pirates. That he made no bargain, nor did not intend it, though he and his uncle are concerned 2-5ths in 3000 maund of saltpetre now lying in St. Thomé, wherein Francisco de Mendez and Francisco de Saa (son-in law of John Battista) are also concerned. And he now gave a writing in 500 Pagodas penalty, in behalf of himself and uncle, that the saltpetre should not be sold to said ship.

"It is upon this occasion resolved that if Francisco de Mendez, or Francisco de Saa, or any other Portuguese inhabitant of St. Thomé, shall buy or sell with the said ship, they shall not be admitted for the future to come into Madras, nor have any dealings with any inhabitant of Madras.

"Mr. Merevell and Mr. Lovell having been on Saturday last at St. Thomé in company with some persons belonging to the ship, they were sent for, and upon examination give the following account.

"That Mr. Mayor, Captain Parham, and themselves, about five o'clock on Saturday in the evening, went out in palanquins to take the air; and going through St. Thomé were invited by Senhor Lucas Luiz to drink a glass of wine; which invitation they accepted of, and at their coming into his house found two Englishmen (strangers to them all) there; and upon enquiry what ship it was and from whence she came, they answered the "Resolution," Captain Etherington, Commander, from the South Seas and Batavia; they thereupon, imagining them to be Interlopers, immediately took their leaves and came away."

"Colloway Chetty, Rugga Chetty and Servoria, were sent for, and particularly admonished not to have any dealings with the people belonging to the ship at St. Thomé."

The same day two letters were dispatched by the Presidency of Fort St. George, one to the Havildar of St. Thomé and the other to Senhor Lucas

Luiz, Captain More of St. Thomé. We give them at length.

"TO THE HAVILDAR OF ST. THOME.'

I am informed that two days past a ship came into St. Thomé road with English colours, and that the St. Thomé people do trade with them for saltpetre and provisions. I know not what they are; or who they belong to, or whence they came. But I know they do not belong to the English Company, and therefore if any damage shall follow to the King's people or their ships, the English Company is not answerable. You have heard of Pirates upon the sea, whose evil intentions have been unjustly charged to the English Company, who have suffered more by them than any others. You will do well to consider. I write this that neither you nor I may be blamed.

NATHANIEL HIGGINSON.

"TO SENHOR LUCAS LUIZ, CAPTAIN MORE OF ST. THOME.

We are informed that two days past a ship came into St. Thomé road with English colours; and that you entertain the people belonging to that ship in your house; and that they are buying saltpetre and provisions of your people. We know not what they are, or who they belong to, or whence they came. But we know they do not belong to the English Company, and therefore if any damage shall follow to yourselves, or the Mogul's people, or their ships, the English Company is not answerable. But we hereby declare you, and all those that do abet and assist them, answerable for all damages. And if you shall now do the Honorable English Company so great mischief by entertaining trade with and assisting that ship, we shall hold ourselves discharged from the rules of friendship which we have hitherto observed; and shall further think ourselves obliged to prosecute such methods as are proper towards those who openly act so injuriously to the

Right Hon'ble Company, and to those who are much inclined to be

Your ready friends
NATHANIEL HIGGINSON,
JOHN STYLEMAN,
&c. &c.

"Tuesday, 14th. Received a letter from the Captain More of St. Thomé, dated this day, wherein he excuses the reception of the English belonging to the ship as a matter of common hospitality to a nation in friendship with Portugal, coming for water and provisions; and denies that the natives have trade for saltpetre, but if they shall trade it will be with the natives or the Governor."

"Brought ashore from the "Resolution," and carried to Lucas Luiz his house, a newry and four yards of broad cloth for a present for the Havildar, a hamper of wine, bundle of white paper, and muster of sugar; and sent 14 or 16 butts of water.

"Received a general letter from Francisco de Mendez and Francisco de San, from St. Thomé, promising not to truck saltpetre for sugar with the English ship at St. Thomé."

Two days afterwards the excitement produced by the arrival of the Interloper appears to have been nearly over; for on the 16th we find the following short entry in the consultation book:—"This afternoon the English ship sailed out of St. Thomé road to the northwards." On the 18th a peon brought word that the "Resolution" had anchored in Pulicat road; but the Dutch refused

to trade with her, and she disappeared from the coast.

The last few months of President Higginson's governorship were occupied by a long and tedious effort to get satisfactory purwannas from the Nabob Zulfikar Khan, but before they were obtained, Mr. Higginson had made way for Mr. Thomas Pitt, as appears from the following entry.

"Wednesday, 6th July, 1698. At nine o'clock this morning, a ship with a pennant came to anchor in the road, which being taken down and a flag hoisted, Mr. Empson was sent a board to know the meaning. Some time after the Cattamaran brought a letter directed to the President and Council of Fort St. George signed "Thomas Pitt," acquainting he was appointed President and Governor for the Right Hon'ble Company's affairs in these parts. Whereupon the Council being summoned it was agreed to defer giving an answer till Mr. Empson's return."

# CHAPTER XV.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT.

## 1698—1702.

Mr. Nathaniel Higginson seems to have been the first Governor of Madras on record, who retired from the Presidency without a stain upon his name. After a careful perusal of the many volumes of records referring to his government, we can find none of those charges and insinuations which were so frequent during the administration of his predecessors. He was however violently opposed by one of the members of his council, a Mr. William Fraser;* and in consequence of the abuse which he received from this gentleman, he prayed the Directors to permit him to retire from the government. The prayer was granted, and in July 1698 he handed over the keys of the Fort to his successor, after holding the Office of President for six years.† The event is thus noticed in the

* This gentleman was subsequently appointed Chief at Fort St. David, and eleven years after the retirement of Mr. Higginson, he became President of Fort St. George.

† Mr. Higginson and family returned to England in February 1700. His predecessor Mr. Elihu Yale set sail in 1699.

consultation books; by which also it will be seen that the desired purwanna from Fort St. David had at last been procured from the Nabob Zulfikar Khan.

"Thursday, 7th July, 1698. The Honorable Thomas Pitt Esq., coming ashore about nine o'clock this morning produced his commission, dated 5th January 1688, appointing him President for the Right Honorable Company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, and of the Ginjee and Mahratta countries, and Governor of Fort St. George and Fort St. David; . . . which being read, the late Lieutenant General Higginson did resign the Chair, and deliver the keys of the Fort to the said Thomas Pitt Esq.

"The council acquainted the President of the treaty depending with the Nabob relating to Fort St. David, and of the necessity of a speedy resolution. Amir Jehan the Armenian vakeel having by his two last letters acquainted that the Nabob had condescended to the granting of the desired purwannas, and that the purwannas were ready, and desired that ten thousand Pagodas might be presently sent, otherwise the opportunity of getting the purwannas will be lost, because the Nabob is designed in a few days against Tanjore, and Amir Jehan himself is sick and cannot stay." "It was accordingly resolved that Amir Jehan should proceed in the matter, and that eight thousand Pagodas should be sent to him."

The next incident refers partly to the administration of Mr. Higginson and partly to that of Mr. Pitt. It is a curious instance of interference in

private affairs, concerning which some of our readers may possibly form conflicting opinions.

"Monday, 27th June, 1698. There being a report that Mr. Henry Dobyns was privately married to Mrs. Rachel Baker, he was sent for and examined, and doth declare that he is married to her by a Romish Priest; who he is informed is now gone to Bengal, but refuses to tell time, place, or person, or produce a certificate; whereupon he was ordered not to go out of the Fort without leave.

"Thursday, 30th. Mr. Dobyns being further examined concerning his private marriage, doth allege that he is under the obligation of an oath not to discover the persons present at this marriage; and that the Priest who married them is gone for Bengal, and therefore cannot prove his marriage by witnesses or certificate, and offers their own oaths.

"Resolved, that till Mr. Dobyns doth prove his marriage he be not permitted to live with the woman as man and wife; and to prevent their cohabitation, he now declaring his request that he may return to England by the first ship. That in the meantime he either proceed for Fort St. David, or remain in the Fort without liberty of going out into her company till the marriage be proved, which is referred to his own choice.

"The foregoing being read to Mr. Dobyns, he chooses to remain in the Fort."

"Saturday, 9th July. Mr. Dobyns being sent for and further examined concerning his marriage, doth now produce two witnesses, Mr. John Sewell and Mrs. Anne Masters, who do both affirm upon oath

that they saw Henry Dobyns and Rachel Baker married by a person in the habit of a Portuguese Padre, some time within two months past. He is therefore ordered to be discharged from his present confinement, but what punishment to be inflicted is referred to further consideration." The matter seems to have been afterwards dropped.

The war with France had been concluded in 1697 by the Peace of Ryswick, and in 1698 the news reached Fort St. George, as appears from the following entry.

"Monday, 11th July. Resolved that to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, the proclamation of Peace between England and France be read with the usual solemnity at the inner Fort Gates, and afterwards at all the Gates of the city. And that the Right Hon'ble Company's Commission appointing the Hon'ble Thomas Pitt Esq. President, etc., be read at the new Garden after dinner, all the Right Hon'ble Company's servants and freemen being invited to a treat there by the Governor."

Our next extract, is one of many which illustrate the bad characters of the soldiers brought out from England.

"Friday, 15th. Ordered that Richard Okell who came out a corporal, and was formerly a soldier in this garrison, where he killed a man in exercising, and stabbed another at Fort St. David, and afterwards endeavoured to entice the soldiers to run away to the Moors, be sent home by the first ship, and that in the meantime he remain in the custody of the Marshall."

The purwanna obtained from the Nabob af-

forded considerable satisfaction to the Presidency of Fort St. George, as will be seen by our next extract.

"Saturday, 10th September. At four o'clock this afternoon the President and Council went to the Garden, accompanied by several of the Right Hon'ble Company's servants and inhabitants, English, Armenians, and Gentoos; where, upon the receipt of the Nabob's purwanna, and the purwanna from the Dewan, was fired 15 and 11 guns."

The following account of a quarrel between two of the officers of the garrison is not without interest.

"Saturday, 1st October. There arising some words this afternoon between Lieutenant Sinclair and Lieutenant Seaton which at last came to blows, Lieutenant Sinclair came now and acquainted the Governor and Council that Lieut. Seaton called him coward and struck him. Lieutenant Seaton being sent for, and the reason of their difference demanded, answers that there did pass some foolish language between them, but disowns that he did strike Lieut. Sinclair. Mr. Stone and Mr. Matthews who were present, being also sent for, were enquired of whether they knew the occasion of their difference; but both declared that they only heard some words pass between them at the Sea Gate, and that afterwards near the inner Fort Gate they saw some blows pass, but know not which struck first." Lieut. Seaton was accordingly dismissed the service, but was subsequently reinstated on petition. A similar punishment and reinstatement had befallen this officer on many previous

occasions. He appears to have been a brave man and a good commandant, but to have been somewhat addicted to drunkenness and eccentricity.

The following case of desertion is by no means a solitary one in the early annals of Fort St. George.

"Thursday, 13th. The Governor acquaints that on Tuesday last about eight o'clock at night, Captain Sinclair came and acquainted him that a Corporal and Sentinel were run away from their guard at St. Thomé Gate with their arms, and with them a Piper. Whereupon he ordered eight soldiers and a Serjeant with twenty peons to pursue them; who returning between ten and eleven the same night, brought the three soldiers back with them, having taken them near Triplicane after some resistance, wherein one man was wounded by a shot in the thigh, and another with a sword." The prisoners were committed to the custody of the Marshall, to be tried by Court Martial, but the result is not recorded.

The history of Roman Catholic Missions in the East is illustrated by the following extract.

"Saturday, 14th January, 1699. Padre Joanni Francisco Fouquet, a Jesuit, appearing before us this day in Council, did make a demand of 1300 dollars which was carried by two of their Order with them on ship "Loyal Captain," Captain Elred Commander, bound for China; but the said two Padres going on shore at Malacca, were there seized by the Dutch and sent to Europe; but the dollars were carried on the ship for China, and afterwards delivered by Captain Elred to Captain Heath of the "Defence." He was desired to ac-

quaint us what power he had for making said demand. In answer to which he produces a commission, dated 22d January 1698, signed by Jacobus Le Picart, Chief of the Order of Jesuits in France; which being read, it doth thereby appear that he is appointed Chief of all the Mission of that Order in China, and consequently has thereby a sufficient power to demand and receive said dollars, as being a part of the stock of that Mission." It appeared that Captain Heath had only mentioned the receipt of 800 dollars; accordingly that amount was paid over to the Jesuit Padre; and a request for further instructions as to the remainder of the sum claimed was sent home to the Court of Directors.

About this time the Danish settlement at Tranquebar was in considerable peril, as appears from the following entry.

"Wednesday, 1st March, 1699. A general letter from the Governor and Council of Tranquebar being translated was read; wherein they give an account of their being close beseiged by the King of Tanjore's forces, consisting of 14,000 horse and foot, which daily increased; taking the advantage of their Fort being weakly manned, by sparing so many of their garrison soldiers to their ships for their security against the Pirates; and therefore earnestly request us to assist them with men, arms, and ammunition, the charge whereof they promise thankfully to repay.

"The same being taken into consideration as a matter of great importance, and may prove of ill consequence to the Right Hon'ble Company's interest in these parts; if once these Princes should

take a garrison from Europeans, it may induce them upon every slight occasion to attempt the same upon us here, or at Fort St. David, the latter having been lately assaulted and is near Tranquebar. Therefore in consideration, not only of the strict alliance between the two Crowns of Great Britain and Denmark, as well as the strengthening the Right Hon'ble Company's interest in these parts, expecting suitable returns from them if ever this place or Fort St. David should fall under the like circumstances :—it is unanimously agreed and resolved that we give them our utmost assistance, and in order thereunto that the ship "Sedgwick" be hired to carry them aids, provisions, and ammunition, and that five thousand Pagodas be sent them by peons overland." Two months afterwards the Governor and Council at Tranquebar dispatched a general letter to Fort St. George "wherein they express a grateful acknowledgment of our kind assistance, and promise on all occasions readily to retaliate the same; and advise to having returned such part of the ammunition sent them as is unspent, and to have ordered Mr. Affack to make full satisfaction for what sums expended on their Company's account."

The following misdemeanor could scarcely have occurred in our own time.

"Monday, 20th March, 1699. Upon some words yesterday at the General Table, Mr. James Eustace called Mr. George Shaw son of a ——, of which he complained to the Governor, who was then present at the Table; and the Governor promised that he would this day

hear their difference in council, and punish him that was found guilty of giving occasion for so rude and uncivil a behaviour at the Company's Table. But Mr. Shaw going from Evening Service to the Sea Gate struck Mr. Eustace, of which the Governor being informed confined both to their chambers. Which being considered it is agreed that Mr. Eustace was guilty of great insolence in calling Mr. Shaw son of a —— at the Company's Table, and Mr. Shaw of great disrespect to the Governor in striking Mr. Eustace after he had declared he would examine and punish the offender.

"It is unanimously resolved that for the future prevention of offences of the like nature, Mr. Eustace and Mr. Shaw be each of them fined their half year's salary payable in India, and confined to the Fort for one month, and neither to wear sword or cane for twelve months, which resolve they were both forthwith acquainted with." Mr. Shaw's fine was subsequently remitted.

The following particulars of visits from distinguished natives will be read with interest.

"Monday, 3rd April, Mortupha Khan, Foujdar of the Poonamallee country, coming to town desired leave to come and see the Governor. He was invited to the new Garden, where he was entertained with Rose water and Betel; and after some discourse promised to give a Cowle (and did send one to the Governor) for the free passage of our goods through his Government according to salabad. Whereupon it was judged necessary to make him a present."

"Tuesday, 25th. Rajah Rama Sing, General of the Rajpoots in Zulfikar Khan's army, coming to wash in the sea and pay his devotions at Triplicane Pagoda, sent a horse to the Governor about fifty pagodas value. Whereupon it was resolved that Mr. Fraser and Mr. Empson should in the Governor's name give him a visit; and his father (Cassa Singara) having always appeared a friend to the English, to oblige him to be so too, to present him with some broadcloth, rosewater, and toys to the value of a hundred pagodas; which was done this evening by Messrs. Fraser and Empson, who report that he seemed extremely well satisfied, and promised to give his assistance on any occasion."

The following particulars respecting Dawood Khan derive their chief interest from the fact that four years afterwards Fort St. George was blockaded for a considerable time by this very general.

"Thursday, 27th. The Governor acquaints that he has received a purwanna from the Nabob informing that Dawood Khan (General in Zulfikar Khan's army) designs to come and see the sea; and that Dawood Khan's servant that brought the purwanna, desired that his master might have some accommodation in the town; and that he (the Governor) returned answer Dawood Khan should be very welcome, but desired that he would not bring too great a number of men with him; and hath borrowed Mr. Styleman's Garden house for his reception, esteeming it more proper for him to reside on that side of the Fort.

"It not being known what Dawood Khan's designs may be, or what orders the Nabob may have

received from the King, probably to besiege Madras and stop all trade; and considering that it was Dawood Khan's brother, Selim Khan, who plundered and burnt the villages at Fort St. David, there is great reason to suspect him, as well as his being a Commander who is generally employed on difficult attempts.

"It is thought necessary that the Garrison and out town be put into the best posture of defence it can be." (Subsequently a levy was made upon the inhabitants of Black Town for building a wall and constructing other works for the defence of the town. In June 1700, the levy amounting to 1051 pagodas was paid by the President into the Company's cash to be applied to the purpose specified.)

"Friday, 28th. Yesterday Dawood Khan came to St. Thomé, and this evening to Mr. Styleman's Garden house, from whence he sent a horse to the Governor valued about one hundred pagodas, which was carried to the Company's stable for their account.

"Saturday, 29th. Mr. Styleman and Mr. Fraser went this day in the Governor's name to visit Dawood, who they report entertained them very civilly.

"Sunday, 30th. This day Dawood Khan returned to St. Thomé, where the Portuguese entertained with their music in the Church.

"Saturday, 6th May. Dawood Khan set out for the Camp, to whom there has been presented at several times to the value of about three hundred pagodas.

"Sunday, 7th. Bahaudar Khan, a younger brother of Dawood Khan, and Commander of 1500 horse, came to St. Thomé, whose servant brought the Nabob's purwanna for shewing him the varieties of the place. Bahaudar Khan likewise received a present of the value a hundred pagodas, and returned to camp three days afterwards."

The following entry affords us another instance of the frequent bad conduct of the officers of the garrison.

"Monday, 8th. There having been several complaints of Ensign Gardner's misbehaving himself in being drunk upon his Guard, and beating the men without occasion, of which having often been continued and promised amendment, and growing worse rather than better, it is resolved that his Commission be taken from him." Two months afterwards Ensign Gardner was reinstated in consideration of his mean circumstances and promise of amendment.

We are now approaching a critical period in the history of the English Company. The war with France had been followed, as usual, by a financial crisis. The Company had offered to lend £700,000 to the government of William III. provided their Charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of India secured to them by Act of Parliament. But their commercial rivals had by this time formed a new Company, and the latter offered to advance two millions at eight per cent. provided they should be invested with the monopoly. The offer of the latter was accepted, but

the rights of the old Company were confirmed until 1701, when the two Companies became united into one. Meantime however a fierce spirit of rivalry broke out between the servants of the two Companies at home and abroad; and the new Company sent out a Consul and an Ambassador, claiming the supreme power over the whole of the English factories. The following extracts will illustrate the nature of the controversy which ensued on the coast of Coromandel. We may premise that Mr. Consul Pitt was the cousin of the President of Fort St. George.

"Wednesday, 28th July. Ship 'Degrave,' Captain William Young Commander, belonging to the new Company, came to an anchor in this road about eleven o'clock this morning, on board of which was Mr. John Pitt, from whom the President received the following letter.

"To the Worshipful Thomas Pitt Esq. President for the affairs of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies yet by permission on the Coast of Coromandel.

"Sir,

I did by some of your early ships let you know that I had engaged myself in the service of the Honorable English Company trading to the East Indies lately settled by Act of Parliament, which determine your Government in three years commencing last Michaelmas; and having gained the Coast, could not pass by without dropping an anchor in Madras road; and would salute you had I not the honour to bear his Majesty's Commission, which constitutes me his Minister or Consul for the English nation in general on the whole coast of Coromandel including all your settlements. If you think fit to pay the respect that is due to the char-

acter with your flag lowered, your compliment shall be returned you by, Sir,

Your affectionate kinsman and servant,
JOHN PITT."

Whereunto the following answer was returned by the President.

"To Mr. John Pitt,
Sir,

I received yours, the purport whereof seems very odd, as well as the superscription. If you had read the Act of Parliament and well considered it, you will find that it establishes my masters in all their rights and privileges in these parts till 1701, and afterwards it is secured to them by their subscription. Therefore you can have no power in any place of their settlements, nor shall I own any until I am so ordered by those that intrust me.

"I am not unacquainted with what respect is due to the Kings Consul (whether you are one I know not); but you cannot, or even have heard, that an ancient Fortification wearing the King's Flag, should lower it and salute a real Consul; but I take it to be your obligation to have saluted the Flag ashore at your coming to an anchor, which we should have answered according to custom and good manners.

"What liquors you have for me I desire you to send ashore in these boats. You must expect to find me no less zealous for my masters interest than you are for yours, and as you act the same will be returned you by

Your affectionate Kinsman and Servant,
THOMAS PITT."

To which Mr. Consul Pitt returned the following answer.

"On board the "Degrave" in Madras Road,
28th July 1699.

"I shall answer your scurrilous letter from Metchlepatam, (Masulipatam) and believe me you will wish you had never wrote in such a style. I will take such measures

to make you sensible that my Commission reaches over all your settlements, and that you yourself shall be forced to own and publish it in all your Forts and Factories, and beg pardon for the affront offered to the character of his Majesty's Consul.

JOHN PITT."

Towards the latter end of August, the Government at Fort St. George was apprised that Mr. John Pitt had landed at Masulipatam, announced that he had been made President of the coast of Coromandel by the new Company, and that his Majesty had honoured that character with his Commission; and that he had required the servants of the old Company at Masulipatam to repair to the new Factory whilst he opened and read his Commission. Accordingly the Government passed an order that none of the English in the old Company's service, or under their protection, should obey any summons they might receive from Mr. John Pitt, under the pretence of his being a President for the new Company or Consul for his Majesty.

In December, 1699, Sir William Norris arrived at Masulipatam as Ambassador from the new Company to the Great Mogul, and addressed the following notification to the Agency established there by the old Company.

"This is to require and command you, not to presume to make any address or application, either in your own person or by any other, directly or indirectly; to any public minister or officer of the great Mogul, without my knowledge or permission, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given at Masulipatam, December 26th 1699.

WILLIAM NORRIS."

The following letter addressed to Sir William Norris by the President and Council of Fort St. George in January, 1700, will better acquaint the reader with the heads of the controversy, than pages of explanation.

"To his Excellency Sir William Norris Bart. Embassador to the Great Mogul at Masulipatam,

Sir,

We having been informed by Mr. Thomas Lovell, our Company's Factor at Masulipatam, that upon the approaching of the new Nabob (Meddo Khan,) who is come to govern that country, you sent for him, (Mr. Lovell) and delivered him a paper, requiring and commanding him in a most extraordinary manner, not to make any application to any of the Mogul's officers for the carrying on of our affairs, without your leave and permission; threatening to do no less than send him home in irons; from which we imagine you resolve the utter ruin of our Company, hoping thereby to promote the interest of your employers, the new East India Company.

"We having no orders or instructions to govern ourselves in this matter but the Act of Parliament, which in perusing we find, that there is five per cent laid in all goods for the maintaining Ambassadors and Consuls, from which our Company is excepted till September, 1701; which Ambassadors and Consuls are to be nominated and elected by the Directors of the new Company, and sent to such Emperors or Princes as they please; and they to pay the charge out of the five per cent, and the remainder to be divided amongst the adventurers. And in a subsequent clause it is said, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to extend, or hinder, or restrain our Company's trade till the 29th September 1701. So that they being excused from contributing to the charge of Ambassadors, Consuls, etc., it certainly never was intended that their affairs in these parts should be subjected to the direction or control of the new Company's Ambassadors, Consuls, or Agents during their

limited time; we being possessed, as the rightful and lawful proprietors, of all Firmauns and Grants necessary for supporting the trade, which have been procured at vast expenses; and without corresponding with the Government, it is impossible to support our privileges or trade.

"Sir, we think your proceedings not only destructive to our masters at present, but will also prove fatal hereafter, if not entail perpetual ruin on the trade. To prevent the mischiefs that may attend us, and preserve the interest for which we are concerned, we must acquaint you that we resolve to persist in the corresponding with the Government as formerly, for the carrying on of our Government during the time limited by Parliament; and to order all our Company's Chiefs and Factors to do the same, until his Majesty commands the contrary, or we receive orders from our Company.

"As for the injuries you have already done our Company, and others of the king's subjects, by embargoing their ships who traded here under their protection, we doubt not but that they will represent it in such places where they may find a remedy or justice. In confirmation whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and the seal of our Company at Fort St. George in the city of Madras this 16th of January 1700."

(Signed By Thomas Pitt and the other six members of Council.)

Subsequently the Presidency of Fort St. George found reason to suspect the integrity of Mr. Lovell and other Company's servants at Masulipatam and Madapollom, and to believe that they had especially betrayed the interests of the Company, by submitting to the orders of Sir William Norris and Mr. Pitt. Accordingly on the 12th July 1700 it was resolved "to settle a Chief and Council in each place, and make our Factories as formidable as possible, in order to preserve our masters interest, and to protect the persons of their servants from any in-

justices." Twenty-four soldiers, with a Lieutenant, Serjeant, and Corporal, were placed under the command of the Chief and Council of Masulipatam.

We now return to the ordinary run of events. The following extract refers to another case of desertion, in which an officer was concerned.

"Friday, 6th October, 1699. This morning Ensign Thomas Salmon and eleven men more run away off their guard with their arms. Upon notice whereof the Governor sent out 200 Peons after them, and wrote letters to the Dutch chiefs of Pulicat and Sadraspatam, and to several of the country Governors, desiring them to stop them." About four weeks afterwards the men were recovered, as appears from the following entry.

"Thursday, 2nd November. Receiving advices that Ensign Salmon and the eleven soldiers deserting this garrison the 6th past, were detained by Chinnatumbee Moodelliar, Naik Poligar, in the woods about sixty miles inland; who interceding to us for their pardon, Mr. Thomas Harris proceeded the 18th past with a letter and small present to said Naik, which they accepting, four returned the 31st past, four yesterday, and the remaining four this morning, accompanied by the Poligar's Chief Officer (delayway) who brought a mare, sheep, etc. for the Governor, expressing their willingness to hinder all fugitives passing through their woods, and assisting otherwise as we should have occasion." A tasheriff to the value of 75 pagodas was given to the Poligar and his servants. Ensign Salmon was kept in prison until October, 1700,

and then send to England. The others appear to have been restored to the service.

The following present to Dawood Khan does not speak much for the temperance of the Mogul's officers.

"Monday, 8th July, 1700. Dawood Khan having wrote the Governor to buy him some liquors, and supposing his interest may be of advantage to the Company in these parts, it is ordered that six dozen of French Brandy, six cases of Spirits, and two chests of Syrash be provided."

The following characteristic letter from a Captain of a ship to the Governor and Council, complaining of some mutinous proceedings amongst his crew, is the worthy of preservation.

"Honorable Sir and Council.

In or about the 13th of July 1700, one of my seamen Richard Cook committing a misdemeanor by knocking down one Lovelace Green, Midshipman, had raised a bump on his forehead as big as an egg, and in some other parts of his body. Upon which I ordered the said Richard Cook to be seized to the gangway. One Lewis a soldier, who then standing by this Cook and seeing his hand seized, swore .... he would cut him loose, and immediately before my face did so. With this I ordered him to be seized on the other side, in which time of standing there till the irons were ready, he abused me very grossly, called me villain, and desired but one minute time and he would do my business. These abuses

were heard before the face of my officers and seamen. After having secured them both, I ordered one of my seamen to take hold of them to help them down on the deck; and he refused my command and would not touch them, for which I ordered him to be seized to the gangway, intending to have him drubbed, but he not being very well I remitted doing of, but in the time of his standing it was heard spoke that if I had him drubbed, I should drub all of them. After this I had an account given me by my Boatswain and Carpenter that some of my seamen when night came on would set the prisoners at liberty, and that I must have a case of further mischief; upon which I was forced to secure my Gunroom and Steerage. They took off their handcuffs that very evening, and that very night broke their irons from their legs and hove them overboard. About midnight my chief Mate told me of it, so I secured them again. My humble request is that this Lewis the soldier may not remain any longer on board; for who knows but in my going down to the Bay, I may meet with a Pirate, and such a fellow as this which sticks at nothing, but ready for all mischief when the first opportunity will permit, is of ill consequence. I am

Your Honours most humble
servant to command,
WILLIAM BRIDGES."

Lewis the soldier was subsequently brought on shore and committed to prison, as it was intended to make an example of him.

The following resolution as regards gaming will explain itself.

"Wednesday, 4th December. We being informed that cock fighting and other games are very much used and practised by the handycraft tradesmen of this place, wherein they consume the half of their time to their great impoverishment, by which they are rendered unable to provide for their families: besides it prevents the making of many manufactures in this place, and many other ill consequences attending it, destructive to the very being of trade itself. Wherefore to avert so great an evil as will in time ensue thereby, we the Governor and Council do prohibit and forbid all manner of gaming for money or money's worth by all merchants, shopkeepers, and all sorts of handicrafts of this place and the bounds thereof, upon penalty of twenty-five pagodas every time it is proved upon them before the Justices of the Choultry that they have gamed, five pagodas whereof to the informer and the other twenty for the use of the Company. And in case upon proof it appears that any one has gamed for a trivial sum, and that not to the loss of time in his profession, it is then left to the discretion of the Justices of the Choultry, to inflict such punishment by fine or otherwise as they shall think fit. And this we order to be published in the country languages by affixing the same at the several gates."

In the foregoing chapter we have passed from one century to another: and it will not be uninteresting to exhibit the state of the European com-

munity as regards population, at the end of the year 1699. From a "list of persons in the service of the Right Hon'ble Company in Fort St. George and other places on the coast of Coromandel," at this date, we obtain the following statistics.

GENTLEMEN.

| | |
|---|---|
| Company's Servants at Fort St. George... ... ... | 30 |
| Company's Servants at Fort St. David ... ... | 13 |
| Company's Servants at Vizagapatam ... ... ... | 3 |
| Freemen ... ... ... ... ... . ... ... ... | 35 |
| Seafaring men not constant inhabitants ... ... ... | 38 |
| Total... | 119 |

LADIES.

| | |
|---|---|
| English wives of Company's servants at Fort St. George ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Castees wives at ditto ... ... ... .. ... ... | 2 |
| English wives at Fort St. David ... ... ... ... | 3 |
| Castees wives at ditto ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| English at Vizagapatam ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Castees at ditto ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | — |
| Wives of Freemen, English, ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Do. French ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Do. Mustees ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| Do. Castees . . ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Do. Georgian ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Wives of seafaring men, English ... ... ... ... | 14 |
| Do. French ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Do. Mustees ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| Do. Castees ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 7 |
| Widows, English ... ... ... ... . . ... ... | 14 |
| Single English young women ... ... ... ... ... | 10 |
| Total... | 71 |

Thus out of one hundred and nineteen Englishmen, only twenty-six were married to English

wives, fourteen were married to Castees, four to Mustees, two to French women, and one to a Georgian. It will be seen that only forty-seven were married at all, and that the remaining seventy-two were bachelors. The English ladies were fifty in number, viz. twenty-six wives, fourteen widows, and ten young unmarried ladies. It seems a great pity that ten young ladies should have been unable to find husbands amongst so large a community of unmarried gentlemen.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT, AND DOINGS OF NABOB DAWOOD KHAN.

## 1701.

The events which are recorded in the present and succeeding chapters, form perhaps the most interesting and important portion of the early annals of the Madras Presidency. Mr. Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham, was Governor of Madras. Dawood Khan was appointed Nabob of the Carnatic and Ginjee countries by Aurungzebe, the great Mogul. Dawood Khan, like his predecessor Zulfikar Khan, was bent upon getting a large subsidy from the Presidency of Fort St. George. In 1701, he tried threats, intrigues, and cajollery of every kind. In 1702 he fairly blockaded the Fort, and endeavoured to reduce the English to submission by stopping the passage of all goods and provisions. Under these circumstances the domestic incidents were few and insignificant, and if introduced in chronological order would only interrupt the current of the narrative. Accordingly both the present chapter, and the one immediately succeeding it, will be exclusively devoted to recording the pro-

ceedings of the Nabob Dawood Khan as regards Fort St. George.

No extracts from the official records, which we have as yet published, possess more intrinsic value than those we are about to lay before our readers; and yet strange to say they have been hitherto almost entirely unknown to history. The fact that Dawood Khan blockaded Fort St. George is barely stated, and that is all. The diary which we have drawn up from the Madras consultation books, thus supplies an entirely new page of history. On the one hand the intrigues, the meannesses, and the drinking propensities of the Nabob and his Durbar, are depicted with a startling truthfulness; and the working of the mind of the artful Mussulman is described in these simple entries with a power exceeding that of any other Indian historian whatever. On the other hand we see a display of Anglo-Saxon pluck and commercial sagacity which throws an entirely new light on the proceedings of our forefathers in this country. Hitherto Thomas Pitt has only been known as that Governor of Madras who brought home the Pitt diamond which the Regent Orleans purchased for three millions of livres; who bought estates and rotten boroughs, and sat in the House of Commons as member for Old Sarum; and above all who founded that illustrious family, two of whose sons are reposing in Westminster Abbey, and whose honoured names will be for ever bound up with the greatness and glory of England. But now the reader will perceive that the germs of that lofty pride, untiring energy, and stern consciousness of

power, which formed the great characteristics of two of England's greatest war ministers, are discernible in the proceedings of their more humble progenitor, who from the little Fort of St. George, defied the insulting threats of the grasping Nabob, and proved more than a match for the low cunning and courtly dissimulation of the oriental. Our readers therefore will not complain of the space we have devoted to these curious details, which are not merely dry chronicles of forgotten events, but are living pictures of a political status which has long since passed away.

With this brief introduction we now leave the extracts from the Madras consultations to speak for themselves.

"Friday, 17th January, 1701. Dawood Khan being ordered by the King (Aurungzebe) Nabob of the Carnatic and Ginjee countries, who has been several months on his march from the King's Camp. Two days ago we were advised, by people that we keep in his Camp to give us intelligence, that he was come to Arcot above four days march from hence. We have had several letters of compliment from him, wherein he has desired sundry sorts of liquors, which accordingly have been sent him; and it being the custom of all Europeans to present all Nabobs and Governors when they come first to their Government, in order to procure a confirmation of their privileges, besides at present we are carrying on a great investment here and at Fort St. David, and have a great deal of money spread up and down the country; further, a few days ago we have advice from Surat by Armenian

letters that our affairs are embroiled there; all of which induces us to consider of a considerable present for the Nabob and Dewan and their officers, and fitting persons to send with it; though before we heard the news from Surat, we intended to have sent two Englishmen, but altered our resolution, not knowing but that the troubles there may affect us here. So there being one Senor Nicholas Manuch, a Venetian and an inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man, besides he has lived at the King's Court upwards of thirty years, and was a servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian language excellently well; for which reasons we think him the properest person to send at this time with our Chief Dubash Ramapah; and have unanimously agreed with the advice of all capable of giving it, to send the presents; so in order to their setting out to-morrow on their journey, we have delivered them our instructions and letters as entered after this consultation.

"Instructions to Senor Nicholas Manuch and Ramapah.

"The great hopes we have of your fidelity and prudence induces us to send you to the new Nabob with considerable presents. The Nabob's present and Dewan's we have allotted here, and deliver you several things for presents to dispose of as you see occasion. We also deliver you letters of compliment for the Nabob, the Dewan, and the most considerable persons in the Camp. (The presents to the Nabob Dawood Khan were valued at 1700 Pagodas; those to Mahomed Seid, Dewan, at 190

Pagodas; and the provisional presents at 830 Pagodas.)

"We have nothing to ask of the Nabob and Dewan but the confirmation of our privileges here and at Tevenapatanam, and that all our business in the country may go on according to salabad; and that you may not forget, we here mention some particular grievances which we would have provided for in the Nabob's perwanna.

"That no moneys be extorted from our merchants in the countries where they provide their goods, which ought to pass all places according to salabad; and that no Governor be permitted to make stops and demand new customs as the Governor of St. Thomé has done of late.

"That the Junkameers about us demand nothing for provisions or goods in and out, but according to salabad; and that when the King's duty is paid, it shall be lawful for any to take away their goods, whereas they often make stops to extort money for themselves.

"That if we have any ships, boats, or goods cast away in any of the Kings dominions, no Government shall make any pretence to it, but that we shall have liberty to carry away whatever is saved.

"Our merchants goods to pass secure from being robbed or plundered, and whenever it so happens, that the Governor of that country shall make it good.

"What Perwannas you procure, remember to get three or four copies attested by the Cojee in the Camp.

"From the various reports that have been and

are still going, we have reason to believe several things will be objected against us; knowing that this place is not only envied by the Country Governors, but by all Europeans too. We therefore as a memorandum give you the following advice.

"If any thing be said about our revenues, which are generally magnified four times as much as they are, it is to be answered, that it is paid by none but our own inhabitants, who are enriched by our trade solely, and are daily getting money from us; which had long ago ruined us, had not we set up revenues to regain some money from them towards defraying our great charges.

"If any thing be said in relation to our making fortifications, it may be answered that we are always when new Governors come, pulling down one thing and building another and reparing.

"Remember to procure an order for our Peons and people to travel unmolested between this and Tevenapatam, whereas they now stop all our people at Boomypollum (?) and force money from them, besides offering insufferable affronts; which being complained of to Jemsheer Khan, he made them restore moneys, and prevented further troubles during his time." Dated 16th January 1701.

President's letter to the Nabob to be delivered with the *public* present.

"To Dawood Khan Nabob,

I have with great impatience waited for your arrival at Arcot, which being informed of two days ago, I celebrated with great joy, preparing my people to wait on you with such acknowledgements of respects as I was capable of providing. A list of

which comes enclosed, whereof I humbly request your Excellency's acceptance, and what I add to it is, my hearty wishes for your good health and prosperity, and a long continuance in your Government. THOMAS PITT."

Second letter to be delivered *privately* to the Nabob with 3000 Rupees.

"To Dawood Khan Nabob,

I congratulate Your Excellency's arrival at Arcot, and have sent Mr. Manuch and our Egyb (Dubash) Ramapah to confirm the same, and to give me an account of your good health, and to request Your Excellency's favour to us in confirming our ancient privileges at Chinnapatam and Tevenapatam. I wish your Excellency all health and prosperity, and a long continuance in your Government under whom I doubt not but all will be happy. THOMAS PITT."

Similar letters were sent to the Dewan Mahomed Seid, and other officers.

"Thursday, 30th January. Senor Manuch and Ramapah advising us that the Nabob, hearing of a Persian mare that was to be sold in our town, ordered them to write us about it, he being desirous to buy it; but we well knowing their manner of buying and what is meant by it, and not being willing to disgust him for so small a matter, we bought the mare for two hundred pagodas, and it is ordered that the Steward forthwith provide furniture, in order to her being sent our Agents at the Camp to-morrow."

A few days afterwards the two messengers re-

turned, their mission having been unsuccessful, as sufficiently appears from the following entry.

"Monday, 3rd February. Last night Senor Manuch and Ramapah returning from the Camp, this day they appeared before us in Council to give an account of their negociations which is as follows. That when they came to the camp they waited on the Nabob, he having sent ten horse and fifty foot to conduct them, who received them kindly, and ordered them to send for their present, which he accepted of; but the next day he returned it, except some trifles, he giving broad hints that that was not a sufficient present for him, and that his predecessor had ten times as much;* he also inveigling against us in scurrilous language, reaping up the business of Fort St. David's, how we had killed Selim Khan's brother, and threatening revenge upon it. But two days after, our agents having by their application to some of the principal officers in some measure pacified the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie, he sent again for his present, but still told them it was not near enough for him, he having been at Court, where it had cost him a great deal of money for his employ, which he must and would raise by some means or other; telling us that he had an account of our revenues, calculating them at about a hundred thousand Pagodas per annum; but we had nothing to do with Black town, in which he would put a Governor and constrain us to keep only to our

* It will be seen in a previous chapter that the Nabob Zulfikar Khan obtained 10,000 Pagodas in return for his perwanna.

Fort. He also daily encouraged unjust complaints against us, telling them that he would first go to Tanjore, Tevenapatam, and then come to St. Thomé, when he would ruin this Port and set up what. After all which he dismissed our agents without any Perwanna or Tasheriff to the Governor as usual, and writ only a letter referring to that they should tell us, and the Dewan the same, the Dewan also signing an insignificant Perwanna.

"Our people meeting with the mare we sent the Nabob in the way, brought her back with them. They also inform us that they were told by several at the Camp, that this dislike of the Nabob to us is occasioned through informations of some people of our own town, who not only make their court by it, but also participate a part of what can be extorted from us, who when discovered, we resolve shall pay not only for the present mischief, but what has passed in former times.

"So having well debated and considered of what we have now been informed as to the demands and expectations of the Nabob, it is unanimously resolved that no further present be made to him, unless it be so trivial a sum as not worth our disputing; otherwise we shall entail an excessive charge upon the Company for ever, for if a new Nabob should be sent every month, they would expect the same. It is further agreed that our Garrison be put and kept in the best posture of defence it is capable of, resolving to stand the event, and advise Fort St. David to do the same."

The following short note was received from Da-

wood Khan, in which the anxiety of the Nabob as regards the health of President Pitt will be duly noted.

"From Dawood Khan to the Governor of Chinnapatam.

"I wish the Governor all health. I received the friendly letter you sent me by Doctor Manuch and your Vakeel, and observe the contents thereof, and have likewise heard their request, and have given them my answer thereto, which they will acquaint you with. Pray write me often of your health."

The letter of the Dewan Mahomed Seid to President Pitt was also to the same effect. The Council of Fort St. George accordingly prepared for resistance, but meantime wrote to Assid Khan Grand Vizier at the Court of Delhi, and also to Zulfikar Khan "representing the ill-treatment of our Agents sent to Dawood Khan, and his unreasonable demand upon this place."

Six or seven weeks passed away, when we find the following entry.

"Thursday, 20th March. We not only having the news from our own people at the Camp, but it being the general report of the whole country that Dawood Khan intends to come to St. Thomé, who we are confident has ill designs against us, and to prevent the same it requires our utmost endeavours. Therefore we order that the Paymaster entertains what Rajpoots offer their services (they being people most to be relied upon in time of troubles) and that he turns out as many Peons in the room of them."

In the following months Dawood Khan appears to have entertained some designs on Fort St. David as appears from the following extracts.

"Thursday, 24th April. The Governor acquainting the Council that this morning he received advice from Mr. Fraser at Fort St. David, that the Dutch had been at Coulmeer a viewing, surveying, and measuring a Factory there that was formerly ours; and that Dawood Khan's Mauldars were with them. So it is rational to believe that the Dutch have a design to purchase it of this Nabob. To prevent which, for that it would not only be a great inconveniency to our affairs at Fort St. David's, but likewise a great discredit to see a Dutch Flag hoisted upon our English settlement; it is resolved that the Governor writes a letter to Governor Conans, who is still at Sadraspatam, to acquaint him with what he hears, and if possible to prevent his making any further progress therein." This journey was postponed till after the departure of Dawood Khan.

"Thursday, 27th May. We being informed that Dawood Khan is coming to Chillambaram, near Fort St. David's, against which place we have just reason to fear he has ill designs; it is proposed by the President that he himself goes thither on the "Advice" frigate, with two of the Council of this place and the Secretary, and carry with them thirty men of this Garrison, and stores and necessaries for presents, which accordingly are ordered to be provided."

At the beginning of July the Nabob Dawood Khan returned to St. Thomé, within four miles of

Fort St. George, and now the entries begin to grow exciting.

"Tuesday, 1st July. We being credibly informed of Nabob Dawood Khan coming to St. Thomé, and that he will be there in a few days, being now upon his march,—it is agreed that a present be prepared for him and the Dewan and Buxie, the particulars to be hereafter concerted.

"Wednesday, 2nd. This day Dawood Khan coming to St. Thomé, we sent Narrain to wait on the Dewan, to know when would be the properest time to attend the Nabob with our present; who in the evening returned and brought us word, that the Dewan advised us to-morrow morning.

"The Garrison being in good order, the Governor gave out necessary directions to be very strict in their duty and keep both companies to their arms, to prevent surprise, and ordered the Gunner to shot all the Guns upon the works toward St. Thomé.

"Thursday, 3rd. We having agreed the amount of the present to the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie, and Mr. Ellis offering himself to go with it, it was agreed that he and Mr. Davenport should go, with Captain Lambert; the latter out of curiosity, being desirous to see the Nabob. And it is ordered that Narrain and the Moollah should go with them as Linguists. So about ten this morning they set out, attended with a Serjeant and three Files of Grenadiers.

"The Linguists going directly to the Dewan to give an account of the presents for himself, the Nabob, and Buxie, he complained that the ready

money for the Nabob was too little; so desired that the Persian mare might be returned, and two half pieces of yellow cloth, and that the Nabob might have one thousand Rupees in the room of it. Of which Mr. Ellis acquainted the Governor by note, who with the advice of the Council sent him one thousand Rupees.

"About eight this night Mr. Ellis and the others returned from St. Thomé, acquainting us of the odd sort of reception they had from the Nabob, and that he had returned all his presents except two parrots; and that the Dewan accepted of the cloth and other things, but the money intended for him was brought back, they having not an opportunity to give it him after their visiting the Nabob. All the Buxie's present was likewise brought back, and one of the Grenadiers died so soon as returned hither.

"The Council to be summoned to meet at seven o'clock to-morrow morning with the Commanders of the Europe ships, to consult what is most proper to be done to reinforce the Garrison and prevent the Nabob from doing us any mischief.

"Friday, 4th. We being informed by people that we keep at St. Thomé, that after Mr. Ellis and the others came away last night, the Nabob at his Durbar, in discourse about this place, was saying that ten thousand Pagodas should not excuse us;* reflecting upon the amount of our revenues, and particularly upon the Tobacco and Betel,

* Dawood Khan was evidently bearing in mind the amount received by Zulfikar Khan.

and our building the Black town wall, and several other things. From which we infer, as likewise from all his actions since he was Nabob, that we must expect no favour from him; for yesterday of his own accord, he told our Linguists that he had sent four Chobdars and twenty-five men as a safe guard to prevent any of his army plundering our villages (Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane). Notwithstanding which they fell in upon one of them this morning, and carried off a great quantity of straw and firewood. Whereupon the Governor wrote the Nabob and Dewan the two following letters.

"To Nabob Dawood Khan, at St. Thomé.

"Your Excellency on coming to St. Thomé was so just and generous as to appoint your own people to guard our towns, to prevent their being plundered, which occasioned my not sending any of our own people; but I am just now informed that your men have fallen in on the towns and plundered them, which is contrary to the trust reposed in your Excellency's word and justice.

THOMAS PITT."

"To the Dewan Mahomed Seid, at St. Thomé.

"It is a great satisfaction to me that we have a person of your honour and worth to be our friend; for which acknowledgements shall never be wanting.

"The Nabob out of his own generosity appointed guards for our towns, which prevented our sending some of our own; but this morning, contrary to his word of honour, his people are plundering them. I am unwilling to occasion troubles in the

King's country, therefore I write to your honour, his Majesty's Dewan. What can I write more?

THOMAS PITT."

"We considering that if there be not a stop put to these unseasonable demands of Nabobs, that the ill consequences will in a little time be no less than a vast annual charge to this place; and we all unanimously concluding this to be a proper time to withstand them, being informed that his army consists of no more than three thousand horse and seven thousand foot, we think ourselves in a condition, with the force we have and can raise, to baffle him if he offers to make any attempt upon us. So by order of the Governor and Council, and advice of the Commanders of the Europe ships and Commission Officers of the Garrison, it is resolved that the following measures be taken.

"1st. That the Europe ships to-morrow morning land men according to charter party, viz., fifty out of the "Bedford," thirty from the "Duchess," thirty from the "Phœnix," which will make a good Marine Company.

"2nd. That the Trained Bands of this place be to-morrow raised, and that Captain Heron be appointed Captain, Mr. Berlu be Lieutenant, and Mr. Wigmore be Ensign.

"3rd. That about one hundred and twenty of the Portuguese inhabitants are to be immediately raised and armed and formed into a Company, and be commanded by Captain Emmanuel de Silva.

"4th. That the Paymaster entertains one hundred Peons to lie out as scouts for intelligence, and reinforce our best watching places.

"5th. That all the Company's cloth be brought in from the washers, washed and unwashed, to prevent its being plundered; and that the likeliest men of the watches be armed and posted in our out villages.

"So all the preparations we are capable of being made for the defence of the place, we resolve that if the Nabob will not accept of the present we first proffered him that he shall have nothing."

"Monday, 7th. The Governor and Council, with the advice of the Commanders of the Europe ships and Commission Officers of the Garrison, quartered the men and appointed their particular posts, it being very hotly reported that the Nabob is making great preparations to come against us."

The determined attitude of Governor Pitt seems to have made a deep impression upon the Nabob. He saw that his threats were disregarded, and that the little English Garrison were prepared to come to blows. The following extracts are more illustrative of the character of Native governments in India, than any history we have ever perused.

"Monday, 7th. *(Continued.)* Our Moollah at St. Thomé advises that in conference with the Dewan this day, the Dewan told him he feared some ill event if we sent not ten thousand Pagodas; and that sum would effectually procure all we requested. Whereupon answer was returned the Moollah, to be imparted to the Dewan, that we expected no new grants, only a confirmation of our perwannas in possession, and that we could not add anything to what first sent."

"Tuesday, 8th. The Governor receiving this day a letter from the Dewan, acquaints the Council therewith, translate whereof is entered after this consultation; the purport being to advise us, that he had appeased the anger of the Nabob, who would now accept our present, which we intend shall be sent him to-morrow morning."

"From Dewan Mahomed Seid.

"My constant prayers to heaven is for peace and quietness to the whole world, and it is my endeavours to forward the same when it lies in my power. Accordingly I did the utmost to appease the Nabob, which is now effected and he satisfied. You may now send one of your trusty Englishmen with Narrain and Moollah and the present which was returned, which I will see presented and procure their dispatch; as it is my temper to make up all differences, so your Honour may rest assured of me for your mediator. What else material Coja Ahmed will inform you."

"Wednesday, 9th. The Governor and Council being met, dispatched away the presents that were returned, with Narrain and our Moollah; adding to the Nabob's present a Looking Glass, a China lanthorn, two China Chests, and a Dog to a Dog (? pair of dogs); the Governor answering the Dewan's letter as follows.

"To Dewan Mahomed Seid at St. Thomé.

"I heartily join with your Honour in wishing peace and quietness to the whole world, and shall always do and contribute what lies in my power to effect the same, when it is to be had on honourable and just terms. I have sent Narrain and Coja

Ahmed with the present that was returned, desiring that it may be delivered as was first designed. I shall always acknowledge your Honour's favour, and proclaim you to the world to be a man of honour and justice. July 9th, 1701.

THOMAS PITT."

"Thursday, 10th. Narrain and the Moollah returned about one o'clock this morning from St. Thomé, and give us the following account.

"That the Nabob received his present very kindly with great expressions of friendship, and sent a Horse and Tasheriff to the Governor. That the Dewan had received his present, but told them, that he had added 1,500 Rupees of his own to the Nabob's to make it acceptable to him, (the meaning of which we well understand), and told them that if Coja Ahmed and our Moollah should come to-morrow, he would give him Perwannas for confirmation of our privileges.

"This sudden alteration happening makes us fear a snake in the grass, and resolve that we will not disband any of our forces till his army marches.

"Friday, 11th. This day the Nabob sent us word that to-morrow himself, the Dewan, and Buxie would dine with us, and desired to know with what attendance we would admit him. We would fain have evaded it, but the messenger he sent, pressing us so hard for a direct answer, we sent him word that the honour was too great to desire it, and greater than we expected; and if he pleased to come, he should be very welcome, and we be ready to receive him in the Garrison with one hundred horse. So all imaginable preparation is

ordered to be made, and Messrs. Marshall and Meverell (two of the Council) attended with ten Files of Grenadiers ordered to meet and receive him at Mr. Ellis's Garden to conduct him into town.

"Saturday, 12th. About twelve this noon, the Nabob, the King's Dewan and Buxie were conducted into town by Messrs. Marshall and Meverell; the streets being lined with soldiers from St. Thomé Gate up to the Fort, and the works that way manned with the Marine Company handsomely clothed with red coats and caps, and the curtains of the Inner Fort with our Train Bands, all which made a very handsome appearance. The Governor attended with the Council, the Mayor, the Commanders of the Europe ships, and some of the Principal Freemen, received him (the Nabob) a little way out of the Gate of the Fort; and after embracing each other, the Governor presented him with a small ball of Ambergrease cased with gold and a gold chain to it, and then conducted him into the Fort and carried him up to his lodgings; when after sitting some time, the Nabob was pleased to pass very great compliments upon us, commending the place as to what he had hitherto seen of it, and gave us all assurance of his friendship; after which the Governor set by him two cases of rich cordial waters and called for wine, bidding him welcome by firing 21 peices of Ordnance. Soon after the Governor drank to him the Mogul's health with 31 pieces of Ordnance; and the principal Ministers of State (our friends), as also the Nabob, Dewan, and

Buxies, with 21 pieces of Ordnance each; all which healths the Nabob pledged in the cordial waters. So, soon after, the Dinner being ready, which was dressed and managed by a Persian inhabitant, the Governor conducted the Nabob into the Consultation room, which was very handsomely set out in all respects, the dinner consisting of about six hundred dishes small and great, of which the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie and all that came with him, eat very heartily, and very much commended their entertainment: After dinner they were diverted with the dancing wenches. The Nabob was presented with cordial waters, French brandy, and embroidered China quilts, all which he desired. The Dewan upon his promising us a Perwanna had a Ruby Ring. The Buxie had one likewise offered him, but refused it, and seemed all day out of humour, occasioned, as we are informed, by some words that had passed this day between the Nabob, Dewan, and him before they came hither.

"About six in the evening they returned to St. Thomé, the Governor and Council, and gentlemen in town, with the Commanders of the Europe ships, waiting on them without the Gate of the Fort; where they mounted their horses and were attended by Messrs. Marshall and Meverell to the place they received them, and at their going out of St. Thomas's Gate were saluted with 31 pieces of Ordnance.

"Messrs. Marshall and Meverell returning, acquainted the Governor that the Nabob desired to-morrow morning to go aboard one of the Europe ships, and in order thereto that six Mussoolas

might be sent to Triplicane; which was accordingly done, and the English ships boats ordered to attend him.

"Sunday, 13th. About seven o'clock this morning Messrs. Marshall and Meverell went to Triplicane, in order to wait on the Nabob aboard the English ships, and the Commanders went off to receive him, but the Nabob having been very drunk over night, was not in a condition to go, and deferred it till to-morrow morning.

"The Breakfast we intended aboard ship for the Nabob, was sent to St. Thomé, which he accepted very kindly.

"This day the Buxie sent to the Governor to desire leave to come into town, to dine with a Persian of his acquaintance, and afterwards that he might see the Company's Garden, which was accordingly granted; where we sent Narrain to wait on him and see whether he was in a better humour than yesterday, and to present him with the Ring which he refused, with a gold Snuffbox, both to the value of about seventy five Pagodas; both which he accepted, declaring that he had no resentment against the English, but should be ready to serve them upon all occasions, but he thought in the management of these affairs the Dewan had not done fairly by him.

"The friendship of this Buxie is not so much desired for the Post he is now in, but that he is of very good family, and has many relations near the king.

"Monday, 14th. We had several alarms from St. Thomé that the Nabob was going on board

ship, but his mind altered, and then he desired to see the Company's Garden, which we used all means to divert him from, by reason in going to it, he must have had a view of all the weakest part of the town. This day he sent word to the Governor that he was informed from Abdul Labby Governor of Chillambaram, that our Deputy Governor of Fort St. David protected the King's enemies; and desired that we would take care that the like be not done for the future. The Governor answered that he would immediately write away to Fort St. David about it, which was accordingly done.

"Tuesday, 15th. This morning the Nabob sent word to the Governor that he would make him a visit at the Company's Garden; whereupon Narrain was sent to endeavour to divert him from it, which if he could not do, that then to advise the time of his coming. So Narrain about twelve at noon sent to the Governor to acquaint that the Nabob was coming with a great detachment of horse and foot with all his elephants, and what he meant by it he could not imagine. So the Governor ordered immediately to beat up for the Train bands and the Marine Company, and drew out a detachment of a hundred men under Captain Seaton to attend him and those gentlemen of the Council who went to the Garden to receive the Nabob. But Narrain seeing the Nabob coming in such a manner, told him it would create a jealousy in the Governor, and desired him to halt until he sent the Governor word and received his answer. But before the

answer came, the Nabob was got into a Portuguese Chapel very drunk and fell asleep, and as soon as waked, which was about four o'clock in the afternoon, he ordered his Camp to march towards the little Mount, where he pitched his tents, and sent to the Governor to excuse his not coming to the Garden, and desired him to send a dozen bottles of cordial waters, which were sent him.

"Wednesday 16th. This morning our spies writing us that the Nabob with his army continued encamped at the little Mount; made us unwilling to disband any of our forces.

"Thursday, 17th. This day the spies from the Camp advises that the Nabob was marched with his army about a mile on the other side of Poonamallee."

Thus Dawood Khan disappeared for a while; the remainder of his proceedings will be recorded in our next chapter.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### BLOCKADE OF FORT ST. GEORGE BY DAWOOD KHAN IN THE GOVERNORSHIP OF MR. THOMAS PITT.

### 1702.

The events connected with the blockade of Fort St. George by the Nabob Dawood Khan, will form the conclusion of the first portion of our sketches and illustrations of "Madras in the Olden Time." They are recorded so fully and clearly in the consultation books, that a few explanations inserted here and there, are sufficient to render them easily apprehended by the general reader. Accordingly with these exceptions we leave the Government diary to tell its own tale.

"Wednesday, 7th January, 1702. We being jealous from the reports of the country, as well as cautions given us from Surat, that the Mogul government design us troubles; and being apprehensive the worst they can do is to stop trade and provisions by land, and commit devastations upon our towns, which lie a small distance from us; and considering we are not able to protect them by detaching foot forces on all occasions, for that by the extremity of heat they are incapable of marching and doing service afterwards, experience of which hath already cost many lives. Wherefore we have resolved to give encouragement as formerly to all

the Company's servants to keep horses, and to allow them fifty fanams per mensem towards the charge thereof, to commence from the 1st of February next. In consideration of which, all such horses and their accoutrements shall be for the service of the garrison, and to be sent upon any expedition as the Government shall think fit; but if such horses shall be killed or spoiled in the service of the garrison, they are to be paid for by the Hon'ble Company, and to be valued by the Governor and Council, or such indifferent persons as they shall appoint to do the same."*

"Wednesday, 28th. Early this morning set out our Moollah for the Nabob Dawood Khan's Camp, (he having wrote the President to send him and Narrain), to remain there as our Vakeel; who had verbal instructions to answer the complaints, should any be made against us, of what kind soever. It being advised by our spies that the Nabob with his army are near, and upon their march to St. Thomé, but their design not known. Also sent in our Moollah's company, the Nabob's Gusbadar, whom he had sent to us some days past for liquors, and carried forty bottles of brandy distilled here with all manner of spices.

"Thursday, 29th. Nabob Dawood Khan, De-

* The troubles at Surat had been occasioned by certain piracies committed on the high seas, which the Mogul's Government charged against the Company, and desired to make the Company responsible. The evil had been aggravated by the rivalry between the Old and New Companies; the latter charging the former with being implicated in the piracies.

wan, and Buxie arriving this night at St. Thomé with considerable forces of horse and foot; and the occasion of their coming being variously reported, and we being jealous that there are ill designs on foot against this place; to prevent their effecting which, we resolve to make ourselves as formidable as possible, for which end have taken the following resolutions, viz.

"That the Trainbands of this city be immediately raised.

"That to-morrow morning the Portuguese Militia be raised and posted at the outworks.

"That both our Company soldiers lie at their arms night and day during the encampment near us.

"That two hundred Rajpoots be taken into service, to guard our out towns and the Company's cloth at the washers.

"That what Lascars, not exceeding 60 or 70, be entertained to assist the Governor.

"That to-morrow morning our Brahmin Paupa be sent to our Moollah in the Nabob's Camp; and both of them go with a compliment from the President to the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie, and carry with them a small present of Rose water, Acheen oranges, and sweetmeats."

Very late the same night the following event was entered in the consultations.

"About eleven o'clock this night received advises from our Moollah that he had waited on the Nabob, who seemed very pleasant but the Dewan otherwise; and that the Nabob had something to say to him to-morrow."

"Friday, 30th. This day our Moollah and Brahmin Paupa waited on the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie, as was yesterday ordered, who were very kindly received; from which we infer, it being the opinion also of many of the Natives, that they are working some ill designs against us.

"Saturday, 31st. The Nabob sent his Chobadars as a safeguard to Egmore and our other new towns.

"Wednesday, 4th. Gopal Naick, a considerable man in the country, coming to make the Governor a visit, it was thought fit with the advice of the Council to present him with five yards of fine scarlet broad cloth, a sword blade, and two looking glasses; his relations being the persons that procured the king of Golconda's firmaun for the settlement of this place; and the chief of his retinue being tasheriffed with five yards of red perpetuanœs, and the rest rosewater sprinkled with betel, they all went away, after passing great encomiums upon the place and justice of the English Government.

"The Nabob Dawood Khan having been several days at St. Thomé, and our Moollah attending him, whom he sent for before he arrived there, pretending great business of importance, and having not as yet imparted anything; he was ordered yesterday to wait on the Nabob to receive his commands, and know the occasion of his being sent for; who received for answer that he (the Nabob) expected some Englishmen to come to him, and that too not without a present; pretending how much he had been our friend, having never wrote

against us to Court, nor informed the king of our revenues, to whom was due a great sum for arrears thereof. The Moollah returning this morning to carry an answer to what the Nabob demanded, it was resolved as follows. That whereas he (the Nabob) had sent for the English, French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, (from which we infer and are jealous that he has an order from the King to oblige all Europeans on this side the country to give security for all Piracies committed in these seas, as they have forced them to do at Surat), it is resolved that no English go; besides should any be sent, we could not avoid a present going with them, which would be of ill consequence to the Company's affairs for the future, we having given him a present about six months since, which would not only be pleaded hereafter as customary by himself, but by all succeeding Nabobs. And as to our revenues, we ordered our Moollah to tell him they were only raised upon our own people, and such acquired considerable fortunes in our service; and that we were ready to demonstrate, not only that we daily gave subsistance to at least two hundred thousand people subjects to the Mogul, but that there also arose yearly by the trade of the place, a vast sum to the King's treasury; and whereas we imported to a great amount of silver and gold, we exported nothing but the produce of the country and the labour of his people; and that rather than be subject to such frequent presents, it would be more to the Company's advantage that the King gave us some years to get in our effects, and then demolish

our settlement and quit his country. And this message the Moollah is ordered to deliver, resolving to send no English nor present."

The receipt of this peremptory message appears to have determined Dawood Khan upon blockading both the city of Madras and Fort St. George. Little time was lost. On Wednesday, as we have indicated, the Moollah was sent to St. Thomé. On the following Friday the result was recorded in the consultation book.

"Friday, 6th. This morning early we had news brought us, that the Nabob had stopped all provisions and all goods coming in and going out of this town; and particularly some cloth of the Company's coming, which soon after, we were advised he had carried to St. Thomé, before we could draw out our forces to rescue it; and we discovered several bodies of horse marching at a distance without our bounds. About noon our Moollah returned from St. Thomé, advising us the Nabob had sent for him, and showed him the King's order, and given him a copy thereof, translate of which appears after this Consultation. So we immediately raised our Trainbands and Portuguese Militia of the place, and appointed them their particular posts for the defence thereof.

"Translate of the Hosbulhocum from the King, with Assid Khan's seal, dated 16th November, 1701, in the 45th year of the King's reign.

"To Dawood Khan, all health.

"The English and other Europeans having entered into a contract to defend our subjects from Piracies committed on the seas; notwithstanding

which they have seized and plundered Moor's ships: therefore I have wrote all Subahs and Dewans, that all manner of trade be interdicted with those nations throughout our dominions; and that you seize on all their effects whereever they can be found, and take them carefully in your possession, sending an inventory thereof to me; and it is likewise further ordered that you confine their persons, but not to close imprisonment. I write you this by the King's command, which you are to obey, and know that this is a firm decree for so doing; an answer to which, with the news that relates hereunto, we demand with all expedition."

"Copy of the Moollah's declaration, delivered here upon his return from St. Thomé.

"This day (Friday, 6th February, 1702), the Nabob, Dewan, Imaum Beague, and Mahomed Amin Mersheriff, sent for us to the Dewan's house; where the Nabob told me that the great God knows that he ever had a hearty respect for the English, and did never wish them any hurt, saying, here is the Hosbulhocum which the King has sent me to seize Factories and all their effects; which, as I style myself the King's slave, I must obey him, though, says he, we do not care to fight them, but in case they begin we are ready. The Nabob likewise told me, that we had received of the late wreck* ("Advice" frigate) seven hundred thousand Pagodas, which appertains to the King, and we

* The Mogul's Government claimed all wrecks as the property of the King.

must be answerable for it, or if we had any firmauns to this purpose we must show them him, which is the reason your effects are seized by the King's orders, whose command we must obey.

"I did see the two Hosbulhocums, one to the Nabob and one to the Dewan, the one sealed with wax the other with ink, to which the Nabob bid me send an answer. The Dewan at the same time telling me I should not be dejected, for they would be answerable for double what should be lost."

The same Friday the proceedings of Dawood Khan and the receipt of the Hosbulhocum were duly debated upon in Council; and it was resolved that the President should send the following letter to the Nabob.

"To his Excellency Dawood Khan,

"This morning our Moollah came to me, who shews me the copy of an Order said to be from the great Assid Khan, charging all Europeans with Piracy, and that by a writing they are answerable for the same. We have been informed that there was such a writing extorted from the English, French, and Dutch at Surat, which amongst us is of no value, being forced from us; nor will the same be regarded more particularly by us, who have been so great sufferers ourselves; and besides, our King have not been at so little charge as two hundred thousand Pagodas to extirpate those villains.

"The goods you have seized to-day, I doubt not but you were advised what value was thereof.

"And as to what your Excellency was pleased to say relating to the wreck, we have the law of

God and all nations on our side; for no ship is a wreck, whilst her proprietors keep possession, and had you taken the least thing of her, you must have been accountable, as you will be for many other things you have already done.

"Your Hosbulhocum says, we are not to be close confined; and your Excellency said to the Moollah that you care not to fight us, but are resolved if possible to starve us by stopping all provisions. We can put no other construction on this, than declaring a war with all Europe nations, and accordingly we shall act. Dated in Fort St. George, 6th February, 1702.

THOMAS PITT."

A letter to the same effect was also written to the Dewan, Mahomed Seid.

The next day, Saturday, the forces of the Nabob began to plunder Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane; and many of the inhabitants of Madras began to desert the place. A full account of these events, and a copy of letters which were this day received from the Nabob and the Dewan are entered in the consultations as follows.

"Saturday, 7th. This day the Nabob's forces plundered our out towns of some straw and paddy, and drove away the inhabitants; and the poor people that lived in our suburbs and Black-town, being so intimidated by the approach of the Moors army, and the preparations we made for our defence, several thousands deserted us; and the Farmers of the Tobacco and Betel complaining that they could not collect the revenues by reason of these troubles, and more particularly Betel

being stopped, which would in a few days occasion great clamours amongst the inhabitants ; so that for the encouragement of all to steal it in, we have ordered that the Farmers cease from collecting these revenues till the troubles are over."

The letter from the Nabob was as follows.

" From Dawood Khan Nabob to the Governor of Chinnapatam.

" I received your letter and observe the contents thereof ; and as to what you write about stopping provisions and goods and your trade, it is done by the King's order, as a means to interdict your trading. You say that the King of England has spent 200,000 Pagodas to destroy the Pirates, which was our King made sensible of, it would redound to your advantage.

" You also wrote something else, but as for me I have no other order from the King than mentioned to you ; but if you have any ill designs, I know how to deal with you ; but I give you my best advice because I wish you well."

The letter from the Dewan was to the same effect. President Pitt replied to both in similar terms. We need therefore only extract his answer to the Nabob.

" To Nabob Dawood Khan,

" I received your Excellency's letter and observe the contents ; and, as I take it, in that paper you call the King's order, there is nothing about stopping provisions, for that, in all parts of the world, is publishing a war between nation and nation ; though we have sufficient for our people for two years, besides the sea open to us.

"That our King has been at 200,000 Pagodas charge to suppress Pirates, is a thing known to all nations, as also to yours, for four of his men of war were in this road.

"We have lived in this country nearly one hundred years, and never had any ill designs, nor can your Excellency, or any one else, charge us with any; and it is very hard that such unreasonable orders should be issued out against us only, when they relate to all Europeans, none excepted as I can perceive; and whether it be for the good of your kingdom to put such orders in execution, your Excellency is the best judge.

"We are upon the defensive part and so shall continue, remembering the unspeakable damages you have not only done us in our estates, but also in our reputation, which is far more valuable to us, and will be most resented by the King of our nation.

THOMAS PITT."

The same day the Presidency of Fort St. George despatched general letters to Fort St. David, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, "enclosing translate of the Mogul's Hosbulhocum, and giving leave to the two latter places to withdraw hither, if they apprehended that the order would any ways affect them."

"Sunday, 8th. About noon we had news brought us from our out guards, that a party of horse were drawing down towards our Washers, who had cloth in their hands to a very considerable amount; upon which we sent out a party of

horse and foot to protect the same, whose appearance caused them to march off.

"Monday, 9th. Last night the Governor received a letter from the Dewan, the purport of which was, that matters were not to be accommodated by letters, but by sending some judicious person. Whereupon the Governor summoned a Council, with the Mayor, Military Officers, and chief inhabitants of the place, to consider what was most proper to be done. Upon which it is resolved to send our Moollah, who by reason of his caste they dare not affront or abuse, who is to hear what they have to say, but answer to nothing till he has direction from the Governor. Accordingly this night he is ordered to go to St. Thomé.

"This day again, we had many thousands of the inhabitants deserted their habitations, being mostly women and children. We heard that the Nabob had taken four Englishmen prisoners at St. Thomé coming overland from Fort St. David, being some sailors belonging to the "Advice" frigate and soldiers of that place, who had leave to come hither.

"Tuesday, 10th. The Merchants acquaint that the Moors have seized 40 ox loads of the Company's cloth, and carried it into St. Thomé, being come away before their orders could reach their Factors for not sending more; and they further acquaint us, that they understand the Nabob has sent to seize all cloth in the Weavers hands with their accompts.

"Wednesday, 11th. This day again the Go-

vernor summoned a General Council, and produced a letter he had wrote to the French, Dutch, and Danes, to advise them of our circumstances and the occasion thereof; also the necessity of our joining together in this matter; which was debated and agreed that it should be translated into Portuguese, but to defer the sending of it till tomorrow night, in expectation to hear some news from our Moollah before that time." (As the letter is merely a brief recital of circumstances with which the reader is already familiar it need not be published).

"Thursday, 12th. This day the Governor summoned a General Council to acquaint them with what message the Moollah had brought from the Nabob at St. Thomé, which was such rhodomantade stuff that we could hardly give credit to it. He demanded possession of our Mint; that his people should come into our Town and view our Godowns, and take an account of our estates; and that we should put one hundred men of theirs in possession of the Black town; and that then he would write to the King that we had obeyed his order, and make an attestation in our behalfs, unto which we must wait an answer. Otherwise he would fall in upon us, and make us surrender by force of arms, and cut us all off. He also told the Moollah that if we were merchants, what need had we of such a Fortification and so many Guns; which is an argument which has been much used by the New Company's servants, since their dropping into this country; and, as we have been informed, the same has been urged to the

King and the great men of the Kingdom at the Camp.

"It was agreed that no answer be returned to this message, as not being worth our taking notice of, but tacitly to defy their threats.

"There being a report of our sending some ships into St. Thomé road to batter that place, the Nabob making it his refuge; which so intimidated the Portuguese there, that the Bishop sent us a letter and protest, the translates thereof are entered after this consultation, and the Governor's answer thereto.

"Sir,—Supposing the advice that I had to be true, that your Honour was resolved to send a ship or two to this Port to bomb the City, with intention to destroy it, was the reason of my writing this, and to present your Honour the enclosed protest; in the first place, humbly desiring your Honour to desist from your intent, since the inhabitants have not deserved it, who on all occasions have behaved themselves as true friends, and thankful for the kindness your Honour has treated them with all. But when your Honour will not desist, I offer the enclosed protest in the name of the King of Portugal, whose city this is. Your Honour ought not to think strange of this protest, for in writing according to our justice and right, it is not against the rules of friendship and good will, which I owe your Honour; and from thence I hope your Honour will accept of it, with the courtesy wherewith I offer it.

God preserve your Honour. St. Thomé, 12th February, 1702.

Your Honours humble servant and friend,

BISHOP OF MELIAPOOR."

"To the Governor of Madras,

"Don Gaspar Alfonso, Bishop of the city of St. Thomé and Meliapur, and of his Majesty's Council, by the absence of the deceased Captain More Lucas Luis de Oliveira. We understand by a constant report from Madras, that your Honour with the advice of your Council has made ready one or two ships with instruments of war to come to this Port and destroy this City of St. Thomé; and supposing that we persuade ourselves that this is only a report, and that your Honour will not put in execution what is said, this being a city of the King of Portugal's, and under his flag, wherein there is a Bishop, Captain More, Ovidore, and other officers accustomary to a city, made by him; and that your Honour will not break nor act against the Peace observed so many years past between the crowns of the most serene Kings of Great Britain and Portugal; chiefly since the inhabitants of this city have not given any cause thereof, but rather have showed themselves on all occasions as true friends. But when your Honour does resolve to act against these reasons, and break the friendship between the two crowns, we do protest against your Honour once and many times, as to the rights and customs of this place in behalf of the King of Portugal, and as to this city for all the evils and damages that shall thereby succeed; of all which your Honour is to be accountable to the most

serene King of Great Britain, to whom shall be represented all the prejudice you do to the King of Portugal and this city; and we desire you to accept of this Protest with the courtesy we offer it unto you, for the good of our justice and right. St. Thomé, 12th February, 1702.

DON GASPAR ALFONSO, BISHOP OF MELIAPUR."

The following letter in reply was dispatched the same day by President Pitt.

" To his Lordship the Bishop of St. Thomé.

" I received your Lordship's letter with the Protest and observe the contents thereof, and shall take care to preserve the good union between their Majesties the king of Portugal and the king of Great Britain, and the friendship that is between your Lordship and us, for which I have a great value; not in the least doubting that your Lordship, or any of your nation, would by advice or otherwise give any assistance to our unreasonable and unjust enemies. So craving your Lordship's blessing for success to our arms against them, and wishing you all health and prosperity,

I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PITT."

" Friday, 13th. Our Moollah returned to St. Thomé, and ordered to remain there to advise us of all occurrences from time to time.

" Dispatched per Cattamaran for Fort St. David (to be forwarded thence) our letters to Pondicherry,

Negapatam, and Tranquebar, enclosing also translate of the Mogul's Hosbulhocum.

"Mr. Chardin acquaints the President he has received per Cattamaran a letter from the French Governor of Pondicherry, which advises that a Gusbadar with six horse were come there from Dawood Khan, to desire their assistance of ships and men against this place; but the Governor pleading great business, excused hearing their message upon their arrival; and that night dispatched their three ships for Europe. Also advised that the Nabob had sent for the French second to come to him, and they were told, he being sick could not go.

"Saturday, 14th. News brought from St. Thomé that one thousand Poligars are come down to Dawood Khan's assistance, and now in St. Thomé.

"Sunday, 15th. Sent the Moollah at St. Thomé, to be delivered the Nabob, Dèwan, and Buxie, forty-eight China Oranges, there being no more good brought; which were kindly accepted, but the Dewan bid the Moollah write the Governor for a hundred more, that he might send them to Court; which is understood to be one hundred shoes of gold, or so many thousand Pagodas or Rupees.

"Monday, 16th. Information being brought, that a boat of the Company's goods from Kistnapatam was seized by the Moors in a Cattamaram off Pulicat; a Musoola was immediately sent hence that way in pursuit of them, and four Portuguese soldiers well armed, with orders to destroy such who oppose the bringing away the goods.

"Friday, 20th. This day our Moolah acquainting us that he had been discoursing the Buxie about the troubles we are now under, who outwardly seems to be our friend, and was telling him that there was no other way to get clear of them but by a Petition to the king, and that the Nabob, Dewan, and himself would likewise send another in our behalfs. So the Moollah desired that he would be pleased to advise the method of those Petitions, which he immediately did. So after perusing of them, we concluded to give no answer as not worth our taking notice of; but agreed to send for our Moollah hither to-morrow morning to give an account of his negociations."

The following draughts of the proposed Petitions to Aurungzebe, which President Pitt declined to take into consideration, are worthy of preservation.

"The method for the Governor of Chinnapatam to write his Majesty the Mogul, drawn by the Buxie.

"Dawood Khan and Mahomed Seid Dewan have received your Majesty's Hosbulhocum to them, the purport whereof, is to seize our effects, stop our trade, and confine our persons. We humbly lay our lives and estates at your Majesty's mercy, and are always obedient to your commands, nor are we blame worthy; being altogether innocent of any Piracies committed either to Mussulmen or any others, but on the contrary have made it the utmost of our endeavouring to destroy those rogues. Our ships are continually going and coming on this side, and to this hour never robbed or plun-

dered any ship whatever. I hope your majesty will take this into your gracious consideration and lay no blame upon us."

"From the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie to the king.

"The English of Chinnapatam humbly lay their lives and estates at your majesty's mercy, whom we have invested round in order to seize their effects, and have already taken what goods we could find, nor are they disobedient to your Majesty's commands.

"We have made strict enquiry, and find that they have ships always coming and going to and fro in these parts, and to this hour it was never known that they have plundered either Mussulmen or others. Besides they have been very serviceable to your Majesty's armies in assisting Khan Bahadur against your enemies with their lives and fortunes; by whose means the Carnata Country came to abound so much in wealth; and as to presents [*here the Nabob is getting artful*] they will pay into your Majesty's Treasury in the term of four years, the sum of . . . . . and will keep the seas clear in these parts.

"We humbly entreat your Majesty to be favorable to them, and lay no blame upon them."

As we have already indicated, the Government of Fort St. George failed to appreciate the kind mediation of Dawood Khan. But we proceed with our extracts.

"Saturday, 21st. The Moollah returned this evening from St. Thomé, and acquainted us with abundance of discourse he had with the Nabob,

etc., from whom he had great intimations that they wanted from us a very great sum of money; to all of which we bid him answer, that we owed them nothing, their king nor his country, nor would we give them anything.

"Tuesday, 25th. The Governor sent to our Moollah at St. Thomé two hundred China Oranges, half for the Nabob, the other half equally between the Dewan and Buxie; and in the evening received a letter from the Moollah that he had accordingly delivered them; and discoursing the two former about several matters touching our present troubles, all seems to hang on the Dewan for accomodation, the Nabob declaring to what the other does."

On the 26th, advises reached the President from Fort St. David, that Abdul Labby at Chillambarum was preparing to besiege that place, and that the Moors had already seized a quantity of Company's cloth to the value of 30,000 or 40,000 Pagodas. On the 1st of March the blockade had commenced, but the place was not closely invested. Shortly afterwards President Pitt received letters from the Dutch and Danes, as appears from the following entry.

"Wednesday, 4th March. Received a general packet from the Dutch at Negapatam, and another from the Danes at Tranquebar, in answer to our letters wrote them the 12th past. The former makes a specious excuse for not assisting us with men, saying they are under fear of troubles from the Tanjore country; and to shew they want their complement in Garrison, sends us abstracts of

letters wrote by them to Ceylon and Batavia requesting recruits; and that the late storm having damaged their magazine of provisions, they cannot supply us with any; concluding with a feigned strain of sorrow and wishes for a happy issue from our troubles. The Danes allege their circumstances are at this time very weak, having had great mortality amongst their Europeans both ashore and belonging to other ships, which we have reason to credit; but they sent a Sloop of provisions which arrived this evening.

"Thursday, 5th. Our spy Brahmin from St. Thomé brings advice that the French Secretary from Pondicherry arrived there yesterday, and had this day presented the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie in liquors and rarities to the amount by calculation of about eight hundred Pagodas.

"Friday, 6th. The Portuguese Trainbands, having lain at their arms ever since the Nabob's coming to St. Thomé, and most of them consisting of poor seafaring and handicraft men, who have families to maintain; we think it reasonable and necessary for the Company's affairs at this time, to allow them pay from the time they took up arms for defence of the place. Accordingly it is ordered that the Paymaster forthwith give them their pay.

"Thursday, 12th. Our spy Brahmin from St. Thomé acquaints that the Dutch arrived there this morning from Pulicat, with a present for the Nabob."

The same day important information reached Fort St. George, that the dispute between the English at Surat and the Mogul's Government

respecting the Piracies, had been finally accommodated, "the English having paid for the two ships taken by the Pirates in the Straits of Malacca, upwards of 282,000 Rupees in broad cloth and other goods."

"Friday, 13th. Our Moollah from St. Thomé acquaints that this day the Dutch attended the Nabob with their public present, consisting of scarlet cloth, silks, China and Japan ware, and spices; what given privately is not known. The Dutch after some small discourse, and having been commended by the Nabob for obeying his commands, took leave and went away; when both he and the Dewan asked our Moollah why the English did not also come. Our Moollah answered, that their repeated indignities to them was a sufficient reason. In the end the Nabob told our Moollah we did not well consider our fault; and that if we regarded the welfare of our trade (he having a kindness for us) did by way of advice offer to make up the business; we paying 30,000 Rupees. To which the Moollah replied, he had no power to assure so much; and wondered he should insist on it, satisfaction having been made at Surat.

"Friday, 20th. Our Moollah remitted hither from St. Thomé, a copy of news arrived there from Court, which agrees with our Vakeel's advices that restitution is made for the Moor's demands at Surat. And the Moollah acquaints he has been very industrious to make it known in all companies; also that he told the Nabob it now behoved him to withdraw his forces, who answered that he could allege a thousand things against us be-

yond our power to defend; from which it is to be implied what he wants

"Monday, 23rd. Sent the Nabob some Pegu Oranges, who returned them with an answer that they were only fit for children.

"Tuesday, 31st March. Our Moollah from St. Thomé advises that he is informed, yesterday arrived there Assid Khan's letter, confirming what done by Dawood Khan in seizing all goods belonging to the English, which we believe is only given out to hasten our complying with their demands, the Nabob often bidding the Moollah apply himself to the Dewan, who says they must have 30,000 Rs."

Matters now began to take a favourable turn. The patience of the Government of Fort St. George was nearly exhausted; whilst the Nabob seemed inclined to moderate his terms. About a week after the foregoing entry we find the following.

"Wednesday, 8th April. The Nabob and his army having lain here a considerable time, stopping all trade and provisions, and very much increasing the Company's charges, which has not only been very prejudicial to the Company in their trade and revenues, but likewise to the whole place in general; and finding now that they decline very much in their demands, which we impute to the advice they have that the merchants demands at Surat are satisfied; we have thought fit, to prevent greater inconveniences, to employ our Selim Beague, an inhabitant of this town, to offer them the sum of 18,000 Rupees; provided they deliver up to our merchants the goods and money they have seized belonging to this place and Fort St.

David; which sum of 18,000 Rupees, considering the very long time they have been here, we believe will be no inducement for him to come again, or any of his successors hereafter; and accordingly it is agreed that the President pays the said sum upon the terms aforesaid, and not otherwise."

The matter stood over for nearly a month longer, during which no entries upon the matter appear in the consultation books. At last definite proposals arrived from the Nabob, and on the first Sunday in May an extraordinary consultation was held to take them into consideration. We extract the particulars.

"Sunday, 3rd May. The Nabob and king's Officers having lain before this place upwards of three months, and interdicted all manner of trade and provisions coming into this place; the latter growing dear make it uneasy to the inhabitants; and there having been some overtures of accommodation from the enemy, which the Governor has been daily importuned by all sorts of people to accept of, occasions his summoning this General Council; whom he acquainted with every particular as entered after this consultation. Which being debated, it was agreed much by the majority that the proposals be accepted of; and that the same be negociated and settled by Chinna Serapa and Narrain, acquainting the Governor from time to time what progress they make therein.

"The proposals made by Kisnojee Dodojee, by order of the Nabob and Dewan, to the Governor of Madraspatam for an accommodation of the present differences.

"Whereas by a late order from the king all trading and provisions with the English has been interdicted at Fort St. George and Fort St. David, we the Nabob and Dewan do now reverse the said order, and do grant them free liberty to trade in all places as heretofore they have done, without let or molestation; and to confirm the same to our people, do promise to give them our perwannas directed to all Foujdars, Killadars, Corrodees, Deshais, Destramokys, Poligars, and inhabitants of all places whereto they trade, to be carried by our Chobdars.

"That whatever moneys, etc. have been taken away, either upon the roads or in towns, or in any place whatever, said moneys, etc., shall be returned to the value of a Cowry, and our merchants set at liberty.

"That the Villages, and all that has been taken from them, shall be returned, and due satisfaction made for all damages according to account.

"And whereas their trade has been stopped by the King's order, goods and moneys seized, it is requisite that an order from the king be procured to revoke the former, which we oblige ourselves to do; and upon compliance with the aforesaid articles, twenty thousand Rupees is to be paid by the English to the Nabob, and five thousand privately to the Dewan; of which sums half is to be paid upon clearing the Villages, returning the grain they have their seized, taking off the stop on trade and provisions, and sending the Chobdars to the aforesaid officers with perwannas to all parts of the country; whereby to order our trade to be as free

as formerly, and to restore all goods which were seized; and now lie in St. Thomé; and when the whole business is completed the English to pay the other half."

"Tuesday, 5th. The seige raised!"

Thus this notable blockade of Fort St. George was brought to a conclusion. A few days afterwards a further present was made to the Nabob of liquors and rarities to the value of one thousand rupees; the Nabob then marched away with his army; and lastly the Portuguese militia was disbanded, and a treat was given to each Company by his Excellency the Governor.

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